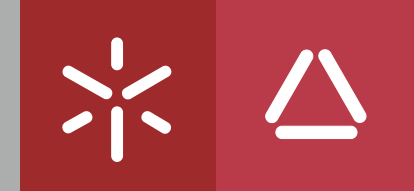


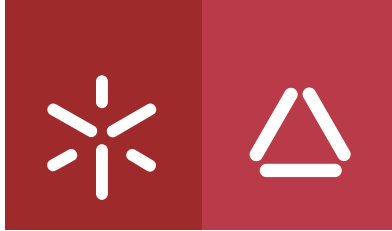


The Place(s) of Health Tourism in Iran:  
*Hammams* in Isfahan

Zahra Kazemi-Zahrani



Universidade do Minho  
Instituto de Ciências Sociais



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*Hammams* in Isfahan**

Tese de Doutoramento em Geografia  
Especialidade em Geografia Humana

Trabalho efetuado sob a orientação do  
**Professor Doutor João Sarmento**

# **DECLARAÇÃO**

Nome: **Zahra Kazemi-Zahrani**

Endereço electrónico: **zahraa.kazemi@gmail.com**

Título Tese: **The Place(s) of Health Tourism in Iran: *Hammams* in Isfahan**

Orientador: **Professor Doutor João Sarmento**

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Universidade do Minho, 2/12/2016

**Assinatura:**

  
Zahra Kazemi

2 Dec 2016

## ***Statement of Integrity***

I hereby declare having conducted my thesis with integrity. I confirm that I have not used plagiarism or any form of falsification of results in the process of the thesis elaboration.

I further declare that I have fully acknowledged the Code of Ethical Conduct of the Minho University.

University of Minho, December 2<sup>th</sup> 2016

Full Name: Zahra Kazemi-Zahrani

**Signature:**

Zahra Kazemi

15/ Dec 2016





*To all those who are interested in reading my thesis*

*Be careful by doing PhD not to lose more than you gain. But, sometimes  
you have to lose to gain something even better.*



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## ***Abstract***

The role of places in shaping health activities and bathing experience has relied on traditional beliefs, religion and socio-cultural images in the past. Currently there is a need to study the places of health as well as traditional Islamic baths, *hammams*, in Iran in order to develop them for the purposes of tourism and the revival of traditional activities. This thesis studies the connection between place, health and tourism in Islamic cities and in Isfahan, Iran, in particular. The terms of attachment to place, which is of interest to health, gender, region and physical setting is discussed and concerns regarding the physical and emotional experiences and bonds of people and tourists. It looks at the places of health and their potential connection to the Iranian tourism sector and conducts the study with emphasis on the multiple dimensions of *hammams* in Isfahan city such as their main architectural features, their role in health, society, religion and culture. Therefore the thesis points to the need for a thorough investigation of historical *hammams* in the city of Isfahan with the focus on tourism among the various stakeholders. This would mainly include a survey of different conservations, functionalities or heritage revival of the three existing historical *hammams* in the city, analysis of their characteristics, recent uses and also looks at their involvement for contemporary tourism. Moreover, the thesis analyses one of the two hot springs in the Isfahan province, Vartoon hot spring nearby the city with historical value, which has a new development project for promoting the health/spa and tourism sector.



## ***Resumo***

O papel dos lugares na criação de atividades de saúde e experiência de banho tem-se baseado em crenças tradicionais, religiosas e imagens socio-culturais do passado. Atualmente existe uma necessidade de estudar os locais de saúde, bem como os banhos islâmicos tradicionais, *hammams* –banhos turcos – no Irão, para desenvolver o turismo e reavivar atividades tradicionais em que os visitantes devem ser incentivados a “passar a palavra” e os produtores devem ser incentivados a gerir. Esta tese estuda a conexão de lugar, saúde e turismo em cidades islâmicas, em particular Isfahan, no Irão. O tipo de apego ao lugar, que está relacionado com a saúde, género, religião e condições físicas, é alvo de discussão e baseia-se nas experiências físicas e emocionais e nas ligações entre habitantes e turistas. O estudo em questão procura locais de saúde e a sua potencial ligação com o sector do turismo iraniano e enfatiza as múltiplas dimensões dos *hammams* na cidade de Isfahan, assim como as suas principais características arquitetónicas, o seu papel na saúde, sociedade, religião e cultura. Assim, a tese aponta para a necessidade de uma investigação através da história dos *hammams* da cidade de Isfahan, centrada na criação de propostas para o turismo envolvendo vários intervenientes. Isto incluiria, sobretudo, um inquérito acerca das diferentes formas de conservação, das diferentes funcionalidades ou formas de revitalização do património para os três hammams históricos existentes na cidade, analisando as suas características, usos recentes e também o seu envolvimento no turismo contemporâneo. Esta tese analisa ainda uma das duas fontes termais na província de Isfahan, a nascente quente de Vartoon, nas proximidades da cidade com valor histórico, a qual tem um novo projeto de desenvolvimento que promove o sector do turismo de saúde.





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## ***List of Abbreviations***

<b>ICHHTO</b>	<i>Iran Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism Organization</i>
<b>ITTO</b>	<i>Iran Touring and Tourism Organization</i>
<b>CHN</b>	<i>Iran's Cultural Heritage News Agency</i>
<b>UDRC</b>	<i>Urban Development and Revitalization Company</i>
<b>MHUD</b>	<i>Ministry of Housing and Urban Development</i>
<b>MRT</b>	<i>Ministry of Roads and Transportation</i>
<b>MRUD</b>	<i>Ministry of Road and Urban Development</i>
<b>IUDRO</b>	<i>Iranian Urban Development and Revitalization Organization</i>



# ***Introduction***



*I wanted to visit and experience a hammam, the typical Persian public bath. I had been intrigued by what I had read and by what my western imagination had conjured up about the oriental bath, which combined a ritual wash with a massage by expert hands. I was given a 'long', a sort of sarong made of a red plaid cloth to wrap around my waist once I had undressed. I was told to sit on a small stool and, without warning, buckets of warm water were emptied over my head. I gasped for breath. After this initial treatment a 'masseur' used a coarse fibered bath glove to rub down my skin. Believe me, thanks to this experience I can guarantee that an Iranian 'massage' has nothing in common with its Thai or Chinese homonym!*

(Coulthard<sup>1</sup> 2014:28)

## *Introduction*

This thesis deals with places of health tourism, especially within the context of traditional Islamic baths, *hammams*, in Iran and in Isfahan city in particular. It also looks at another key place of health tourism, that is, the hot springs in Isfahan province. The inspiration for this thesis is mainly derived from the experiences of the author's homeland, Isfahan, where many *hammams* as health and heritage attractions fail to be part of the tourism industry or be preserved as heritage sites. Firstly the author attempts to contribute to how the past, present and future of the *hammams* in Isfahan city are interconnected and expressed through their cultural aspects, social life, health activities, transformation, identity formation as well as the stakeholders' involvement in tourism development. Secondly the author endeavours to understand how current thermal hot springs in Isfahan province respond to the growth of health tourism and how the question is interwoven with the representation of cultural heritage, health activities and bathing experience in public spaces, socio-cultural beliefs as well as the local community's attitudes towards the tourism sector.

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<sup>1</sup> Nigel Coulthard was born in Wales and educated in Great Britain and France. He has also spent many years in Iran, as a youngster under the Shah in the 1970s, through the 1979 Islamic Revolution and more recently with his Persian wife during the Khatami and Ahmadinejad presidencies. He published "Iran, Hussein's dilemma: A key to understanding the reality and challenges of Iran" book in 2014 and the book is both informative and entertaining, using serious and humorous stories that help unveil the reality of Iran and the Iranians.

Generally bathing plays an important role in shaping *hammams* in Islamic cities as well as Muslims' beliefs and their rituals. *Hammams* are an essential part of the social life in urban Islam and have an incredible history and inspiring architecture (Sarmiento and Kazemi 2014). Indeed, although the *hammam* is a specifically Muslim space, its Roman roots and urban usage connect its users to other histories as well (Abu-Lughod 1987; Fagan 2002). Yet Islam brought a new and compelling tradition to the history of world art (Kleiner 2009) and architecture was one of the first artistic elements to develop in Islamic cities. In Iran the architecture of Islamic buildings such as *hammams* draws from Islamic elements, although they have also been inspired by Persian pre-Islamic art. Most of the extensive Islamic buildings and well-known heritage in Iran as well as Iranian cities such as Isfahan dates back to the Safavid dynasty (1501 to 1722), the longest-lasting Persian dynasty, of about one thousand years. The Safavid dynasty declared Shia Islam the state religion and converted the large majority of Muslims to the *Shia* sect. According to Levy (2009) the Safavid dynasty laid the foundation for much of what characterizes modern Iran. Thus Isfahan, the Safavid capital, became known as one of the impressive Islamic cities for western travellers, particularly from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards. For example Chardin, a French traveller in the Safavid period in Iran, counted 273 *hammams* in Isfahan in his travelogue (Lambton and Sourdel-Thomine 2007; Smolijaninovaité 2007). *Hammams* from the Safavid dynasty in Isfahan also reflected the community's pride and what was leadership wishes to build *hammams* for public use to be proud of. Usually Islamic buildings are a symbol of urban religion, communal practices, signs of Islamic cities and also meeting the cultural needs of Muslim communities as well as of their political power. Consequently the establishment of the Safavid state in Iran coincided with the overseas expansion of the countries on Europe's Atlantic seaboard and the beginning of direct relations between Iran and the west (Sefatgol 2015). While European travellers to Safavid Iran were diverse in the motives and interests they brought to their pilgrimages, they also manifest similarities as many of them insisted on a unique insight into life on the Iranian plateau and reflected what they had seen with their own eyes (Matthee 2009).

*Hammams* were also central to western displays of oriental ways of life in World Fairs or expositions (Çelik 1992). According to Gandy (2004:180) “the rediscovery of the pleasures of bathing in the 18<sup>th</sup> century carried with it an erotic charge and often drew on orientalist conceptions of sensuality derived from European travellers’ encounters with the *hammams* of North Africa and the Middle East.” *Hammams* can also be understood as key sites through which culture travels (Sarmiento and Kazemi 2014). Kilito and Geesey (1992) explain how *hammams* are not only specific types of buildings with distinctive architectural features, relying on the use of abundant amounts of water, but also critical sites for hygiene and healthcare, also they are important places for social and cultural relationships and performances: “The *hammam* is a venue where performance meets history” (Aksit 2011:279). *Hammams* are supplemented by a host of traditional health activities, providing such a rich socio-cultural places which play a critical role in Islamic society and develop the key elements of gender relation. Yet, few *hammams* in the more traditional areas of Isfahan are still important from a social perspective. Women’s gatherings associated with the celebration of important life events such as births, weddings, etc. is in decline. Although the *hammam* has historically been thought of as a public space for men, such as a space for planning revolts (Cichocki 2005), it is culturally shaped by women’s usage, despite the fact that the term public bath does not bring women to mind in Islamic cities (Aksit 2011). The status and position of women in Islamic societies is an especially complex topic, due to the multiple layers of cultural and religious aspects. Janet Abu-Lughod (1987:176) believes that initially gender was between ‘a List of forces’ which contributed to the identity of the Islamic city and by encouraging gender segregation, Islam created a set of architectural and spatial imperatives. She said (1987:176) “What Islam required was some way of dividing functions and places on the basis of gender and then of creating a visual screen between them.” However, in the past century, *hammams* in other Iranian cities, as well as in Isfahan, have been transformed in the context of social interaction, dynamics of urban change, restructuring or city development. Despite the traditional cultural potential and essential role of the *hammams* as a driver of tourism development and socio-cultural transition, many



struggle to remain, continue to function or find even a temporary use. Presently, 18 heritage buildings are registered in Isfahan city as traditional *hammams* (List provided by the Isfahan office of Iran's Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts and Tourism Organization, ICHHTO, Accessed October 2014). Accordingly, the interest and the influence of the different stakeholders of each historical *hammam*, who can be broadly categorized by organizations and people, are varied and associated with different authorities. The current condition of each *hammam* is mainly being affected by related organizational decision-making, their behaviour as well as the role of different types of people. Bryson (2004) discusses the term stakeholder, which can refer to people, groups or organizations who must somehow be taken into account by leaders, managers or others.

Apart from *hammams*, hot spring resources as well as their built facilities have also been key places of bathing activities in Iran. Hot spring complexes are defined by different complementary buildings such as the bathhouse, walking area, accommodation; small or large pool depending on the accessibility, development and importance of the thermal areas. They have played a significant role in the socio-cultural, health and economic functions in the lives of the Iranian people. According to Falahat (2013) ever since water was connected to people's life-world through ecological, religious, and also spiritual factors, its importance changed from its norm as an ecological element to that of a very special and cherished element in the city. Falahat (2013) also argues the emphasis of cleanliness is very much in the religion of Islam. Nevertheless, in pre-Islamic Iran, water was appreciated as a sacred element and was idolized as one of the four elements of the old Persian religion, Zoroastrianism. Water figures in notions of hygiene, health, sacred and sublime, all of which play a role in the practice of leisure as a social activity (Anderson and Tabb 2002). For centuries most Asian countries were connected through the Silk Road, including Iran, which offered travellers the use of hot springs and they appear to have had a historical use going back to ancient times (Erfurt-Cooper and Cooper 2009). In post-Islamic Iran, especially in the Safavid period, the sacred role of water continued and became more imperative through the movement

of *Shia* Islam. Philosophy reached its highest level in the Safavid period and influenced the traditional Iranian wisdom, as water was understood to be one of the main elements of imagination and manifested through various works of art (Falahat 2013). Isfahan is a significant example, in which the availability of water resources such as rivers, mineral or thermal hot springs interacts with the urban or rural settlement, the associated buildings as well as the variety elements of art, religious and spiritual practices. Today, with a focus on the current Iranian regions with available thermal hot spring resources, the use of water and its associated buildings still play a significant role in people's lives as well as in their performance. Yet visiting thermal hot springs is associated with health, leisure or traditional bathing activities through all periods of history in the country and has not changed much at all over time. Actually there are more than 350 hot and mineral springs in Iran with a capacity for commercialization (Ayoubian 2015). Some small hot springs often do not commercialize their activities. Nevertheless, mostly they have some form of built facility associated with water sources, or have histories connected with heritage buildings (Erfurt-Cooper and Cooper 2009). In some regions development plans have also changed, and provide major spa resort complexes some with health treatment facilities (Ayoubian 2015). According to current Iran administrative division there are two thermal hot spring resources in Isfahan province: Vartoon and Khur. They are located in the eastern part of the province, in desert landscapes and with an arid climate. However one of the above two resources with a heritage building -*Vartoon*- has a new development project close to the city (65 km), promoting health tourism practices and attempting to provide different kinds of activities. The other one -*Khur*- is still non-commercialized and is largely unknown.

Consequently this thesis attempts to understand the transformation and dynamic nature of historical *hammams* within the context of the tourism sector in the contemporary city of Isfahan. It also studies the current condition of thermal hot spring resources in the Isfahan province, which are associated with health tourism sector. Mainly the thesis attempts to highlight the importance of historical *hammams* and hot springs development in Isfahan focusing on their tourism

potential. However the contemporary tourism sector in Iran shows dynamic growth in recent years and correspondingly in historical cities like Isfahan. The thesis illustrates the significance of water in culture and religion and discusses the history of bathing, traditional baths as well as *hammams* in Islamic cities. The thesis studies the historical *hammams* in Isfahan as well as present changes and discusses them within the context of the tourism sector. It also attempts to contribute to the health tourism sector, and to the development of thermal hot spring resources in Isfahan province.

## *The Significance of the Thesis*

This thesis displays the importance and dynamics of traditional places of health tourism including *hammams* and hot springs in contemporary Isfahan in particular. The study responds to a need for an up-date from the existing historical *hammams* based on an assessment of their significance, both in the past and in the city today. The thesis develops the significant role of traditional activities for the health tourism sector and evaluates the barriers to an effective role of historical *hammams* in current Isfahan. This study also raises the value of the *hammams* with integrated approaches for revival and conservation in the contemporary city of Isfahan due to its rich history and socio-cultural background. Apart from the important issues of historical *hammams* in the city, this thesis also stresses some key issues to be considered when thinking of developing historical *hammams* in contemporary Isfahan. Actually the question of growth and development is an issue within the context of tourism in general as well as the health tourism sector in particular. The thesis focuses on how tourism is to be co-ordinated in order to achieve set priorities for the effective functioning of current historical *hammams* in Isfahan. Therefore the growing awareness of tourism economics within the context of historical *hammams* and their traditional bathing practices might be affected by affiliated stakeholders. A shared understanding of this thesis could make all related stakeholders, including organizations and the people, to be more responsive to the current condition of the

historical *hammams* and promote a constructive role for historical *hammams* as heritage to contribute to present-day society and tourism development.

Additionally, the findings of this study also contribute to the improvement of hot springs in Isfahan and certainly contribute to the various challenges of health tourism development in the study area. The findings largely apply to the Vartoon hot spring to expose the current condition, the opportunities and barriers for new development and tourist involvement. This study has a potentially beneficial effect for key stakeholders and promotes the idea of co-operation between various stakeholders in management of the area and encourage acceptance by the local community.

Undoubtedly today, Iran's tourism industry has the potential to grow following the lifting of economic sanctions, with more visitors looking to travel and plans being made for the development of tour companies, hotels and tourist facilities. Therefore the thesis welcomes the timely opportunity to develop and preserve heritage as a result of historical *hammams* and associated facilities. The results achieved develop awareness of valuable heritage for key stakeholders, and supports efforts to expand tourism, particularly health tourism.

## *The Objective and Main Research Questions*

The central objective of this thesis is to study the dynamic transformation of *hammams* in Iran and in Isfahan city in particular. This work surveys the connections between *hammams*, tourism and health in the city. It examines the contribution of the recent historical *hammams* in current use for tourism in the city today. It also establishes the extent to which visiting thermal hot springs is still engaged with traditional bathing activities, as well as the health tourism sector.

Accordingly the thesis defines five research questions:

1. How are *hammams* being transformed in Isfahan in the context of contemporary changes?
2. Which types of *hammams* are being produced by tourism or contribute to the health and traditional activities in the city of Isfahan?
3. Which kinds of key stakeholders are involved in the current condition of historical *hammams* in Isfahan city?
4. How is visiting hot springs contributing to traditional bathing activities as well as to the health and spa sectors in Iran?
5. What is the current condition of the thermal hot spring development in Isfahan province and which kind of facilities, health and spa tourism activities do they provide?

The first question contributes to the discussion of the current condition of *hammams* in Isfahan city and establishes how *hammams* are being transformed in the context of contemporary changes and amongst urban life of Iranian people. Mostly *hammams* in Isfahan struggle to continue functioning or even find a contemporary use. The question also encompasses the role of *hammams* in the city today and looks at how the history of bathing, traditional views and perspectives of understanding the health; body and mind can be transformed by modern perspectives.

The second question covers the historical *hammams* in Isfahan city in the context of tourism development as well as the health tourism sector. The question concerns how this dialectic, which involves culture, religion, cosmopolitanism, economy, and so on, is often translated into the tourism sector. The question emphasizes the contemporary role of the three historical *hammams* in Isfahan city for tourism and heritage revitalization as well as the rebirth of traditional activities in the health tourism sector and discusses their current condition in the city.

The third question refers to the key stakeholders, who have played a significant role through the current condition of the historical *hammams* in Isfahan city over the last decade. The question looks at the historical background, policies and strategies of the key organizations as well as people's contribution to the historical *hammams* in Isfahan. The question concerns the existing historical *hammams* and their current key stakeholders including different organizations and people and attempts to understand the impact of dynamic issues on the existing historical *hammams* circumstances in contemporary Isfahan.

The fourth question deals with the contribution of visiting hot springs within the context of traditional bathing activities as well as the health, spa and wellness sector in modern day Iran. This question deals with the history of visiting hot spring in Iran, bathing activities and the importance of water in culture and religion and attempts to interweave the dimensions of traditional bathing activities with the modern health/spa practices within the context of hot springs in Iran.

The fifth question looks at the current condition of hot springs, their activities and development in the province of Isfahan. The question mainly establishes the challenges, issues and trends in the health tourism sector at the Vartoon hot spring which is the subject of a new development project close to the city (65 km) with the emphasis on health and spa activities, which have recently been provided. It concerns the aims, promotion, local and regional framework, as well as the challenges faced with the expansion of the health/spa tourism sector at the Vartoon hot spring. Therefore the question covers the expectations of the local authority and their experience on-site and analysis their expectation in the field.

## *Methodology*

This thesis conducts an exploratory qualitative research study. It starts with an extensive literature survey covering the key aspects of the main issues, consisting of books, technical journals and academic papers relating to the area. It includes diverse observation for all existing historical *hammams* as well as hot springs in Isfahan. The observation employs the active acquisition of information from a

primary source and develops a holistic understanding of the phenomena under study. Accordingly, the thesis mainly brings out discourses from different interviews, determining the depth of a participants' commitment and taking into account all of the key people's responses.

The qualitative methods of data collection, such as interviewing, fieldwork observation, participant observation, archival documents and related materials apply through four case studies, three historical *hammams* in the city and one hot spring close to the city (65 km). The thesis uses qualitative analysis and early involvement in the analysis phase helped to move back and forth between concept development and data collection. In other words the qualitative method for each case study strives to make a balance between description and interpretation. The research methods through the four case studies were basically formed during the period 2012-2015 and provided a principal insight into the research. The author discovered, gradually, the appropriate research strategies for collecting data and conducting each case study. The research methods were usually conducted using an assortment of voice/written records, physical traces, and visual data. They include an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a variety of dimensions including key stakeholders' supervision, institution, local and regional authorities and the participant level for local and international tourism development.

## *Research Structure*

This thesis starts with the introduction which includes the significance of the research study, the objective and main research questions as well as the research approach and general methodology. The thesis is divided into 8 chapters but mainly divided into two parts. The first part mostly includes the literature reviews of the key research concepts (see Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 4) and the second part covers the main research case studies (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7). The second part also demonstrates the proper research method for each case and analysis and studies them in their own areas. The last part also explains the major conclusion, and attempts to recommend some areas for future work.

# ***Chapter 1***

## ***Place and Health***





## *1.1 Introduction*

This chapter examines the concept of place and health laying the foundation for a conceptual framework to guide the research case studies in the following chapters. Therefore the chapter begins with a discussion of the concept of place and its connection to identity and attachment and attempts to make a correlation between those concepts. Additionally this work puts emphasis on place and health issues and boosts its conceptual construction to the religion and gender facets in Islamic cities in particular. Correspondingly, this chapter examines the significance of physical settings in a range of places which can have a profound effect on people's attachment to that place and drives mainly from the aspect of health.

## *1.2 Place, Identity and Attachment*

Studies of feelings that people develop towards the places where they were born, brought up, or visited, have been receiving increasing attention since the late 1970s (Low and Altman 1992). People dynamically structure social interactions and activities at various locations in their places, imbuing various locations with personal meaning, creating group of personal meaningful places (Jones et al. 2008). Place is a common term in everyday interfaces, however, providing a definition for place is complex over time. The roots of the notion of place are in various fields including social sciences, behavioural and cultural sciences, environmental psychology and geography. Place, to geographers such as Tuan, Buttimer, Seamon or Relph, was a concept that explained an attitude to the world that emphasized instinctively: "The only way humans can be humans is to be "in place" and place determines a human's experience" (Cresswell 2014:38). Relph (1976:43) noted, "The basic meaning of place, its essence, does not therefore come from locations, nor from the trivial functions that places serve, nor from the community that occupies it, nor from superficial or mundane experiences ...the essence of place lies in the largely unselfconscious internationality that defines places as profound centres of human existence". Place is a physical location formed by people's relationship with

physical environments, activities and meaning (Najafi and Kamal Bin Mohd 2012). However when people build their environment, or interrelate components or features for their interaction or communication, they create places. Najafi and Kamal Bin Mohd (2012) believe that physical features, activities and meaning are considered as the three main constructs of a place. Additionally recent developments within 'new cultural geography' have led to a definition of culture as the social and material processes and outcomes of contested meanings attached to a place (Martin 2003; Massey 2004). Some scholars suggest that culture is best understood contextually, as found in the taken-for-granted practices of everyday life as they occur in a place (Cresswell 2014; Masuda and Garvin 2006; Mitchell 1995). For Harvey (1997) places are socially and culturally constructed and can be the locus of the imaginary, a site for the negotiations of social relations, a form of discourse and of power and at the same time a material practice. Sarmento (2001) argues that places are never static and are always being mediated and negotiated through spatial practices, representations and discourse. As Gieryn (2000) shows scattered literature suggests that place stabilizes and gives durability to social structural categories, differences and hierarchies; arranges patterns of face-to-face interaction that constitute network-formation and collective action; embodies and secures otherwise intangible cultural norms, identities, memories - and values. "Places are socially constructed positions and sites within the context of a particular period, that is, places have meaning only in relation to an individual's or group's goals and concerns" (Entrikin 1991:5). Ashworth and Graham (2005) suggest that not only do place identities change through time, but imagined pasts also provide resources that the present selects and packages for its own contemporary purposes and for forwarding to imagine futures. They believe that the reasons behind the creation of place image are also explored, setting them within political and social contexts. Agnew (2013) identifies three major elements of the concept of place: 'locale', 'location' and 'sense of place'. He believes that 'sense of place', is the local structure of feeling, the character intrinsic to a place itself. "A key to the meaning of place lies in the expressions that people use when they want to give it a sense of carrying greater emotional charge than location or functional node" (Tuan

2012:409). According to Foote and Azaryahu (2009:96) sense of place is defined as “Emotive bonds and attachments, both positive and negative, that people develop or experience in particular locations and environments. It is also used to describe the distinctiveness or unique character of particular localities and regions”. Some people make the relation to those individualities and characteristics that make a place special, as well as to those that foster a sense of authentic human attachment and belonging. Hay (1998a) also defined the sense of place as an interpretive approach to examine how it develops; how it varies cross-culturally among modern and indigenous peoples; and how it develops among various contexts such as home and environs, family, community and culture. There is much less agreement on how one should define and measure people’s bonds with places under the concepts of place identity, place attachment and sense of place. The relationship between constructs is not clear and there is no agreement (for a review of different approaches see: Kyle et al. (2004)). However, based on Lewicka’s (2008) ideas, there is a plethora of concepts used to define people’s attitudes towards the history of their places of residence and those attitudes give closer attention between place attachment and place identity. Lewicka (2008) also explains how place identity and place attachment have been related and associated to several environmental variables such as appropriation, residential satisfaction, and physical care taken of the neighborhood, restrictiveness, environmental attitudes and pro-environmental behaviour. She also added that the first meaning of ‘identity’ refers to the term ‘place’ and means a set of place features that guarantee the places distinctiveness and continuity in time. According to Jacobson-Widding (1983) the word ‘identity’ means two things, ‘continuity’ and distinctiveness ‘uniqueness’, and therefore the term ‘place identity’ should incorporate both aspects. Proshansky (1978:147) defined place identity as “those dimensions of self that define the individual’s personal identity in relation to the physical environment”. Place identity, on the other hand, refers to a conception of the self that has been constructed on the basis of the place to which individuals belong and incorporates elements related to the public image of that place (Hay 1998b; Uzzell, Pol, and Badenas 2002). The process of place creation also serves to reinforce and shape individual and collective identity

(Greider and Garkovich 1994; Stokowski 2002). According to Erikson (2014) identity is described as a process located both within the core of the individual and in the core of his/her communal culture that the locations give meaning and continuity to individual existence. Through place affiliation, people inherit socially constructed identities that help to distinguish ourselves (i.e. individual and collective) from others (Kyle and Chick 2007). Moreover identity is increasingly constructed through the consumption of leisure goods, services, and signs rather than through occupational categories (Urry 1994). Personal emotional ties and symbolic meanings recreationists ascribe to recreation settings, and place dependence relates to the functional utility attributed to the setting because of its ability to facilitate desired leisure experiences (Williams et al. 1992). Thus, leisure activities and the character of places are intertwined and appear with adapting modes of leisure consumption, which is attached to places. The place attachment construct typically consists of two dimensions: the first is place dependence, which refers to a functional attachment to a place, and the second is place identity, which refers to a symbolic or effective attachment to a place (Backlund and Williams 2003). Place attachment is an effective bond or link between people and specific places (Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001). Place attachment refers to bonds that people develop with places (Giuliani 2003), and their surroundings (Devine-Wright 2007; Low and Altman 1992; Werner et al. 1993) and the desire to maintain the relationship with the place over time and at different stages in their lives (Giuliani 2003; Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001). The studies dealing with place attachment normally have diverse approaches available at the theoretical level as well as the empirical surveys. Historically, attachment to a place was of interest primarily to earlier phenomenological scholars, such as Bachelard et al. (1994); Eliade (1959) and to recent generations of phenomenologists with direct interests in environment behaviour issues such as Buttner and Seamon (2015); Kohak (1984); Reph (1976); Seamon (1982) & Tuan (1977). Their analyses of place attachment are rich and varied, often focusing on homes and sacred places, and emphasize the unique emotional experiences and bonds of people with places. In a slightly different conceptualization, Jorgensen and Stedman (2001) suggested that place attachment

is a distinct component of a broader and more encompassing concept called 'sense of place'. Brown and Perkins (1992) explain place attachment involves dynamic but enduring positive bonds between people and prized socio-physical settings, such as home. Lewicka (2005) displays people attached to a place expressed more interest in the place's past and in their own roots than people with fewer emotional bonds. Stedman (2003) discusses that apart from the demographic (residence length) and social (social ties in place of residence) factors, place exerts its influence on place attachment through physical features and symbolic meaning, with the former often being a cue to the latter. For example, usually historical sites create a sense of continuity with the past and help citizens maintain a sense of cultural identity. Thus the types of place attachment for people plays a significant role on a regional or national level and changes may create strong feeling or conflict among groups of people, especially in multi-ethnic areas. Place attachment becomes important in both reinforcing and reflecting the social construction of risk in the local environment (Masuda and Garvin 2006). Tensions can manifest in power struggles when a particular place has different meaning to people with different social and cultural affiliations (Martin 2003). Different feeling and attachment to the places might be correlated with the social engagement, life satisfaction or life experience. For instance Wiles et al. (2009) argued that a sense of belonging or attachment to a place is believed to help maintain a sense of identity and wellbeing, and to facilitate successful adjustments in old age. He argues perhaps older people in particular have been shown to draw meaning and security from the places in which they live. Moreover religious activities also contribute to subjective wellbeing by enabling individuals to achieve a sense of social integration in the places (Rosow 1967). The above quotations and different standpoint of authors could shape the significant impact of various factors in promoting the perceived meaning by people in the places. Practically, the following chapters (see Chapters 5 and 6) put an emphasis on the concept of identity and attachment towards the places of health tourism in Iran in the historical *hammams* and hot springs in contemporary Isfahan in particular. Consequently the next section deals with different concepts of health, wellness and wellbeing, which are largely derived from the concept of health in many countries.

The various definitions of health, wellness and wellbeing that are reviewed in the next section are mainly associated with the contemporary health tourism industry and in the context of places of health in particular.

### *1.3 Health, Wellness, Wellbeing*

According to Blaxter (2010) many studies from different domains and different countries show a varied range of health concepts. Health and medicine are major sectors of the social organization of any society and a great deal of resources goes into systems for the promotion of health. Any definition of health as the absence of self-perceived illness has to deal with the fact that this perception varies widely among individuals and depends on situations (Blaxter 2010). Health practices and health ideas penetrate deeply into the domains of politics, philosophy, religion, cosmology and kinship (Paul 1955). Helman (1986:71) noted that health in different societies is a central feature of culture: “both the presentation of illness, and others response to it, are largely determined by socio-cultural factors”. Some historical stories and narratives about health and illness provide insights to the culture, its values, beliefs and hollowed practices and identify cultural consciousness within the context of people’s health, illness and their experiences. Dutta (2008) discussed individuals make sense of their life, health and illness, curing and healing of the illness experiences through the sharing of stories. People consider health as the absence of disease that largely refers to the overall condition of a person’s body or mind and to the presence or absence of illness or injury (Romano and Lee 2013). Mostly the terminology of wellness and wellbeing is used in the health industry, mainly originating from the concept of health and enriched by new elements. However, today the concepts of wellbeing and wellness are used particularly in the tourism sector. At times they are used as synonyms, but there are differences in the terms and the use of the concepts which has also been a problem in some countries due to different languages, translation and cultures. Irrespective of terminology, health and wellness as concepts clearly have a variety of meanings in different countries and linguistic understanding of health, wellness and wellbeing (Smith and

Puczko 2009). In some countries there is no word for 'wellness', and sometimes it is merely translated as 'health' (like in Hebrew and Slovenian) or more closely translated as 'wellbeing' (as in Finnish) (Smith and Puczko 2009). Wellness is defined by Cohen (2008) as a multi-dimensional state of being, as describing the existence of positive health in an individual exemplified by quality of life and a sense of wellbeing. Translating the term of 'wellness' into Farsi takes us back to the concept of beneficence where spirituality and religion are much more central aspects of life throughout history. The concept of 'wellness' along with its wellness philosophy was developed by Dunn in 1959 when he first studied a special state of health comprising an overall sense of wellbeing which sees humans as consisting of body, spirit and mind being dependent on his environment (Mueller and Kaufmann 2001). Dunn (1959) called this condition of great personal contentment 'high-level wellness'. The concept of 'wellness' has been used as a valuable tool for controlling lifestyles and inducing health disparities. The term 'wellness' is used because it is based on, or promotes a comprehensive multi-dimensional model, in which all aspects must be balanced for one to live a happy and healthy lifestyle (Romano and Lee 2013). According to Busbin et al. (2013) 'wellness' can be defined as a set of attitudes and behaviour, which indicate an individual's perception of the ability to have some control over health and wellbeing. It means people are taking more responsibility for their own health and are more involved in the actual decision process for health care. The wellness concept is subject to different interpretations. According to Erfurt-Cooper and Cooper (2009) in Europe the original thought can be generally traced back at least as far as the Greek and Roman cultures, where certain parts of the population with an interest in health, fitness and hygiene, as well as socializing, made use of public bathhouses and fitness temples to ensure wellness.



Adams (2003) refers to four main principles of wellness (as cited in Smith and Puczko 2009:54):

- “Wellness is multi-dimensional
- Wellness research and practice should be oriented towards identifying causes of wellness rather than causes of illness
- Wellness is about balance
- Wellness is relative, subjective or perceptual”.

Essentially, wellness is an approach to health care and life style choice that is based on active prevention of illness and active promotion of a state of wellbeing (Erfurt-Cooper and Cooper 2009). However the term wellness contains “elements of lifestyles, physical, mental and spiritual wellbeing and one’s relationship to oneself, others and the environment” (Smith and Puczko 2009). The differentiation of the wellness facilities in space and time coincides with a dispersion of target groups (Weiermair and Mathies 2004). More recently, the increasing popularity of the wellness concept has acted to stimulate both: a more leisure-based health concept and a redevelopment of the long-recognized health-oriented leisure sector (Goodrich and Goodrich 1987). Wellness is an all-inclusive umbrella covering a variety of health-related factors, which are interrelated; one frequently affects the others.

According to Hoeger and Hoeger (2014), to have a wellness lifestyle, a person has to practice behaviour which leads to positive habits, which may have seven dimensions of wellness: Physical, Emotional, Intellectual, Social, Environmental, Spiritual and Occupational (see Figure 1.1):



**Figure1. 1 Dimensions of wellness**  
Source: Hoeger and Hoeger 2014:12

Another important concept of health promotion is wellbeing that is subjective and may be measured differently by individuals referring to multi-dimensional social issues. “Emphasizes behaviour which is directed towards sustaining or increasing the level of wellbeing, self-actualization, and fulfillment” (Busbin and Self 2013:97). Additionally wellness includes different concepts related to it, such as wellbeing, happiness, quality of life, holistic practices and spiritual beliefs. Health promotion focuses on movement of the individual towards a positively balanced state of increased wellbeing (Busbin and Self 2013). According to Konu (2010) wellbeing as a concept includes factors that are associated with the basic things in life and these factors are measurable in one way or another like social contact, work, leisure activities and spiritual beliefs, which all can raise people’s sense of wellbeing.

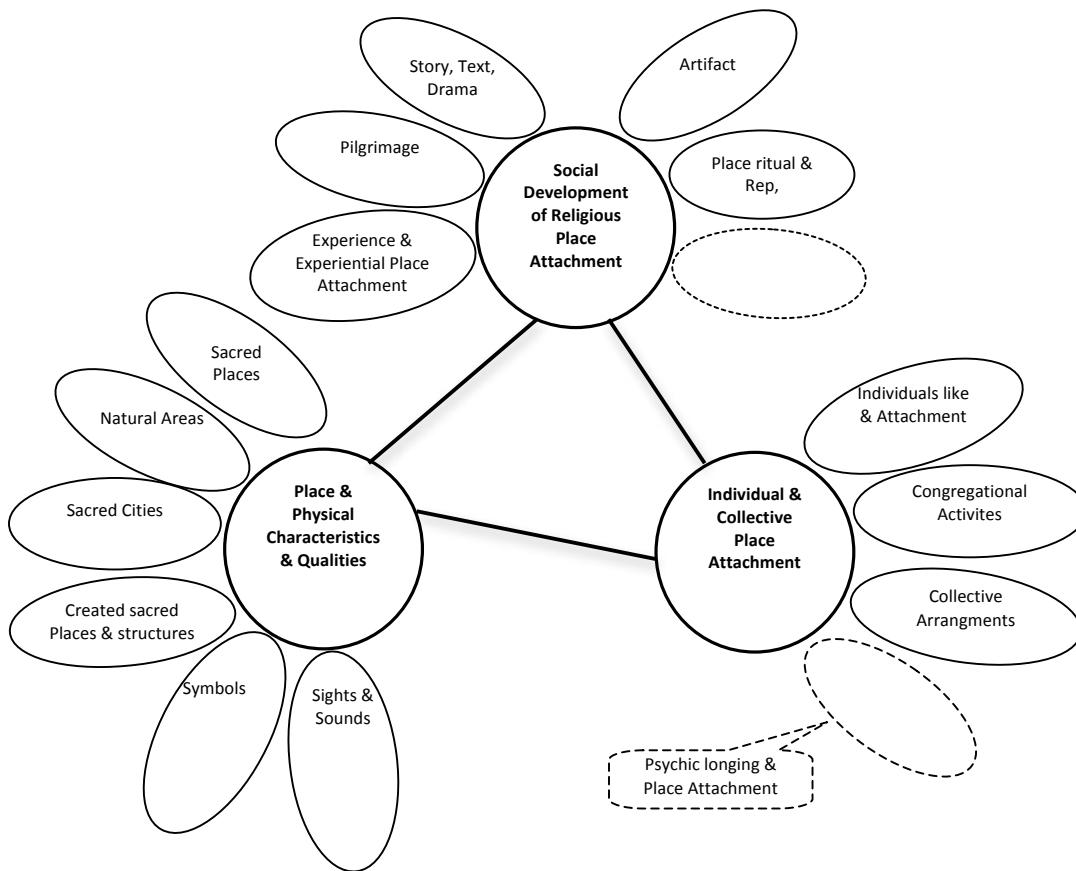
Traditionally, women in their own societies took primary responsibility for the health and wellbeing of family members, even encouraging exercise and relaxation (Smith and Puczko 2009). An essential aspect of taking and embracing a holistic approach to women’s wellness is to understand and appreciate the depth of complexity of the constantly interacting and dynamic factors that influence women’s health as the larger social and political issues cannot be separated out from this approach (Olshansky 2000). Subsequently the next two sections analyze that place is also associated with the concept of health and religion and their connection plays

an important role in shaping the places in different societies and formed gender relationships in society.

### *1.3 Place, Health and Religion*

“Religion is an emergent, complex, adaptive network of symbols, myths, and rituals” (Taylor 2008:12). According to Witter (1985) religion seems to give meaning and security to individuals and some researchers examined that both religiosity and religious activity are positively related to subjective health and wellbeing. Accordingly religious beliefs vary among individuals and communities and display an important facet of people’s background for addressing the aspect of physical or mental health. There is substantial literature that connects religion and spirituality to physical health (see Ellison and Levin 1998; Koenig, King, and Carson 2012; Powell, Shahabi, and Thoresen 2003; Seeman, Dubin, and Seeman 2003) and to mental health (see Larson, Swyers, and McCullough 1998; Plante and Sherman 2001). Researchers have also suggested various possible psychological, social and physiological mediators that may account for the religion and spirituality health connection. Hill and Pargament (2008) argue that the explanation for health effects may also lie in the nature of religion and spirituality themselves. Additionally, from a geographical perspective, religious beliefs provide essential insights into the inherent spatiality of culture and the complex interactions between culture and place (Stump 2008). Physical and mental health symptoms often point beyond the individuals who experience them, to the communities and cultures to which they belong (MacLachlan 1997). Since the early 1990s there has been a resurgence of interest in the role of place in shaping people’s health experiences, and a new debate has developed about the relative importance of people or place characteristics (Macintyre, Ellaway, and Cummins 2002). The work in the field of ‘health geography’ seeks to understand the relationships between people, health and place (Kearns and Moon 2002). During recent years, health geography has also increasingly focused on how people’s experiences of health and places are inter-related. Moreover this has already included historical research on the concept

of health, religious beliefs, remarkable places and rituals events. Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2004) argue that there is the reciprocal relationship between place and religion and the religion can foster place attachment and for some people it can become an important component of the attachment they feel to particular places. Religious places play an affective bond between people and their religious setting and develop their health desires (Najafi and Kamal Bin Mohd 2014). Some religions spread because of the desire of committed people to adopt their beliefs, health and cleaning practices to those in distant towns or countries. According to Hinnells (2013:3) “the natural human condition is a state of perfection, health and immortality. Pain, fever, ill health and mortality are unnatural conditions”. Schmidt (2010) finds very different approaches as to how people of different cultures and religions tried to conceptualize what they envisaged as a healthy state of being. Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2004) present a conceptual model for understanding the connections between religion, place, identity and attachment. The model shows three major features that act on each other (see Figure 1.2). Firstly place is acknowledged as an important component of the model including small places such as homes, human made structures, sacred places and others. Secondly, social development of religion is a second important component of the model, according to Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2004:387) “the emphasis is on how religious place attachment is thought and learned through mechanisms such as ritual, story, text, drama, experience, and pilgrimage”. Thirdly the model also included the individual and collective components of religious place attachment, which can be fostered through congregational focus, a group of people who adhere to common and mandated collected prayers. Then religious place attachment is expressed both at the individual and at the collective level and can also be experienced and qualified at a deeply personal level through sacred and memorial places. In this figure the broken line ellipses indicate possibilities that are not discussed in their article and the lighter fonts indicate probable titles of areas for those ellipses.



**Figure1. 2 Religious place attachment: a model**

Source: Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2004:388

Therefore the relationship between place, physical characteristics, religious socialization, individual and collective attachment and religious place attachment is accepted as a significant component of the model. “Because communities of adherents participate in a multiplicity of local cultural structures and identities then, religious beliefs and practices are frequently transformed as they are reproduced from place to place and from generation to generation” (Stump 2008:12). Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2004:390) also noted, “While the characteristic of place itself can inspire and cultivate devotion, spirituality, community, and tranquility, a person’s connection to place is not solely reliant on the qualities of place but can also be learned through the process of religious socialization”. Religious beliefs are central to the construction of identities and the practice of people’s lives such as the habitual practices or structuring of the events and rituals (Holloway and Valins 2002). Religion is, in many ways, like any other set of ideas or values spread among

and between groups of people. “Most religions designate certain places as sacred or holy, and the designation often encourages believers to visit those places in pilgrimage and puts responsibilities on religious authorities to protect them for the benefit of future generations” (Park 2004:451). Of course, religious affiliation represents one of the possible sources of cultural identity and religious interests which can arouse other forms of identity, particularly at the local scales of daily life (Stump 2008). However, as Tuan (2009) argues, religion is a perennial quest for safety, certainty, and spiritual elevation that began with a place and particular cultural practices; but in its highest reaches, religion moves toward universalism and place-less-ness. According to Kong (2001) despite a great deal of recent attention paid to the practices of identity formation, geographers have been slow to fully acknowledge the place of religion alongside such axes of identity as race, class, nationality and gender in their analyses. Brace et al. (2006) discusses most geographers would acknowledge that aspects of religion, of faith, sacredness and spirituality intersect with geography at every turn: from understanding the construction of identity or the meaning of bodily practices at a personal level, to unpicking the complex relationships and politics of intuitional space and place at a regional or national level.

In Islamic countries, religious beliefs strongly foster people to be sensitive to the ritual activities and constitute a significant component of people’s private and public life. The religious practices also affect lifestyle choices in Islamic cities, such as those related to the places of worship, health activities, and communal gathering or community participation. As Bowen (2004:223) points out, “a religious place may be conceived as a point of origin for a prophet or people; as a place where gods or spirits reside; or as a spot where a notable event occurred.” Thus the religious faith and its social influence offer the most understating about a critical concept for gender issues. Accordingly the next section aims to give an in-depth analysis of the intersection of place and gender and look at Muslim societies in particular.

## *1.4 Place and Gender*

The intersections and mutual influences of ‘place’ and ‘gender’ are deep and diverse. Place and gender as an interdisciplinary field of study emerged during the 1970s and it attempts to identify ways in which gender stereotypes and spatial arrangements reinforce each other (Spain 1992). According to McDowell (2013) gender relations are also of central concern for geographers because of the way in which a spatial division - that between the public and private, between inside and outside plays such a central role in the social construction of gender division. She also argues that just as the conceptualization of place has become more nuanced in recent geographical work, then so too has the definition of gender. “Geography matters to the construction of gender, and the fact of geographical variation in gender relations, for instance, is a significant element in the production and reproduction of both imaginative geographies and uneven development” (Massey 2013:2). McDowell (2013) believes that the gendered characteristics vary not only between countries and over historical time, but also in everyday places and interactions and the use of gender symbols and expectations of gender-appropriate behaviour vary. Massey (2013:177) believed that geography and gender “is, in profound ways, implicated in the construction of the other: geography in its various guises influences the cultural formation of gender relations; gender has been deeply influential in the production of ‘the geographical’. Therefore the concept of place has also been studied extensively across multiple disciplines and, of course, a historical sketch of gender issues has been interlinked to the place over time. According to Spain (1992) the analysis of gender and place are interdisciplinary in that the field seeks to combine the spatial orientation of geographers, architects, and urban planners with the social focus of anthropologists, sociologists, and historians to understand the ways place and gender mutually reinforce one another. Feminist geographers put women on the map, so to speak; they locate them, describe their living situations and consider how space and gender interact (Frye, Putnam, and O’Campo 2008). Rose (1993) criticizes some humanistic geographers for the insignificant role they give to gender relations in structuring individual senses of

place. According to Nanda and Warms (2013) every culture recognizes distinctions between male and female, but cultures differ in the meaning attached to these categories, the supposed sources of the differences between them, and the relationship and attachment of these categories to other cultural and social facts. An individual's sense of place is both a biological response to the surrounding physical environment and a cultural creation, as Tuan argues. "Gender is the social, cultural, and psychological constructs that different societies superimpose on the biological differences of sex" (Worthman 1995:598). For instance Spain (1992) describes how living spaces in different countries has historically segregated women from men, creating spaces where men share knowledge specific to skills that ensure their higher value to the larger society. Accordingly several feminist geographers also uncovered the history of gender segregation in day-to-day life, communal places, housing, city planning, work settings, organizational structures, education and transportation (Amis 1995; Massey 1994; McDowell 2013; Spain 1992). According to Morin and Guelke (2007) women's and men's religious experience may differ significantly because religion often promotes segregation in ritual practices, congregation attendance, ordination, religious life and religious identities and such differences have geographical expressions within faith communities and outside of them as well. "Religion is a big part of the lifestyle and daily culture of the faithful; it influences deep-rooted notions of masculinity and femininity" (Mills and Ryan 2001:62). Religion also supports socialization and normally shaping women's role and the women's place in different societies. There are some examples which are drawn to highlight this intersection and can be particularly highlighted in Islamic societies. For instance in the past, the quarter was a vital factor of identification for city dwellers especially for women in Islamic societies. Barton et al. (2003) show a quarter as a place for community or people who are joined by shared characteristics. The social classes of a quarter's identity have their roots in the days in which the quarter began to affect the social identity of a quarter and is shaped by its history (Robertson, McIntosh, and Smyth 2010). Soltani et al. (2013) explain the quarter in Islamic countries like Iran as the physical environment in the city where women pass most of their time in social gatherings and outside chores and duties



and played a significant role in helping women identify with a place. There are some reasons why women attach themselves to the quarter, which made women more united and made quarters more important to women than men. Soltani et al. (2013) argue the quarter was considered by its own with all shared sorrow and joys, because it had unified and given them a common sense of identity. They also added (2013:163) "In a sense, the quarter provided the grounds for women to manifest their presence in the public arena". Notably the quarter offered leisure opportunities and activities to women and conceivably women were more satisfied with their social relationships in the quarter. A growing interest in the role of gender issues in place has led to recognition of the need to incorporate these ideas into the study of gathering, leisure and recreation. Williams et al. (1992) suggest that place dependence and functional attachment reflect the importance of a resource in providing amenities necessary for leisure and desired activities.

Moreover leisure activity involvement has been defined as "an unobservable state of motivation, arousal, or interest toward a recreational activity or associated product. It is evoked by a particular stimulus or situation and has drive properties" (Havitz and Dimanche 1997:246 adapted from Rothschild 1984). According to Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) place attachment is embodied in emotions and feelings associated with a recreational setting. In this context users of specific resources can also be dependent on the unique ability of resources to facilitate desired experiences (Kyle et al. 2004). The study done by Mowl et al. (1995:103) argues that place "should not be seen as merely a blank stage upon which we act out leisure; each place presents us with a unique set of opportunities and constraints, not just in terms of its physical structure, but also its social environment". Thus the gender history can continue to draw on conceptualizations of gender from across the social sciences providing new ways of linking the past and the present over the place and the time. Therefore the role of the community in the public sphere and the nature of the interaction between the society and the ruling authorities are of central importance to an understanding and dynamics of Islamic societies (Hoexter, Eisenstadt, and Levtzion 2002). Thus the role of women in Islamic society has been

a central component of the debates over modernization and progress. Historically, women's role in society was determined as much by social and economic factors as by religious prescriptions and the societies where males were seen as more experienced in public life and were primarily responsible for the livelihood and conduct of the family (Haddad and Esposito 1998). The reassertion of Islam in personal and political life has taken many forms, from greater attention to religious practice to the emergence of Islamic organizations, movements, and institutions and one of the most controversial and emotionally charged aspects of this revival has been its effect on women in Islamic societies (Haddad and Esposito 1998). Additionally women's attachment to a place is learned through the process of socialization involving rituals, restriction, use of artifacts, storytelling and place visits. Indeed, religious observances in different religions affect people, places, the behaviour of believers and many possible themes (Park 2004). "Islam has intermingled with many other factors such as local customs, politics, economics and historical conjuncture to shape the status of women in different ways in different times and places" (Charrad 1998:63). Islam provides a general framework with a range of options for actions and within the framework; groups and individuals negotiate practices and symbols while engaging in social action and ongoing struggles (Charrad 1998). Stokols and Shumaker (1981) indicate that a place can be considered important to an individual because of its functional value. Islamic places have retained a strong trace of social coherence; physical unity and gender segregation that reflects the role of places in helping Muslim desires and requirements. There are ways in which place gains a particular role for Muslims through repeated performance and ritual use. Then, certain places or sites are imbued with particular significance, lending an important spatiality to Muslim beliefs and practices. Islamic architecture may also be considered as the creation of patrons and builders who profess and admit Islam or those who live in a region ruled by Muslims. Islamic buildings such as mosques, *madrasa*, *bazaars*, *hammams*, roadside inns and others can be included. From the foundation of Islam to the present day, Islamic architecture encompasses a wide range of both secular and religious styles influencing design, composition, art, construction of the buildings

and highlighting the importance of political power, religious rules, gender issues and the nature of architecture into the study of religion (Warburton 2012). According to Geertz (1966) religion endows the places with symbolic meaning, which not only helps differentiate them from ordinary spaces, but through their geography, design or architectural aesthetics which have the capacity to also promote a certain worldview and foster attachment for believers and followers. Thus Islamic art, design and architecture created in countries where Islam has been dominant and embodying Muslim precepts in its themes. These issues lead the study to further enquire about place attachment associated with physical setting and tends to be more of an emphasis on the Islamic buildings and people involvement.

### *1.5 Place Attachment and Physical Setting*

Place normally emphasizes social and physical characteristics, or both. Much of the research on place attachment or related concepts has focused on its social aspects (see Lalli 1992; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996; Woldoff 2002) and of course place attachment can also obviously rest on the physical features of the place (Stokols and Shumaker 1981). Beside the social aspects and needs, the physical characteristics are one of the main principle elements of place attachment. Historically the focus of most of the research associated with place has been on its social dimension, and the literature is replete with references to the importance of this aspect of place attachment (Najafi and Kamal Bin Mohd 2014). Some scholars claim that all place attachment is based specifically on social relationship and its elements. However physical setting with its characteristics and attributes may influence whether people develop an attachment to it or not and people often judge the physical features and attributes of a place before anything else (Najafi and Kamal Bin Mohd 2011). The nature of the physical space strongly affects the nature of the created place (Shields 2013). Stedman (2003) claims the physical environment and its characteristics contribute to the construction of sense of place. He also found that the physical characteristics strengthen both place attachment and satisfaction and the findings shed light on the relationship between characteristics of the physical environment

and place attachment. Physical reality also matters for social life because it becomes symbolically expressive and meaningful. Norberg-Schulz (1985) also clarifies the significant role of the architecture as providing physical attributes to space, which facilitate habitation of the users as well as their mental and physical wellbeing. Therefore architecture should not only note the meanings but it should also pay close attention to the physical attributes of the setting (Sime 1986). The role of the architect is to accommodate and enrich the culture by innovation, introduction of challenging ideas and document their era for future generations (Kamran 2013). Architecture is normally a response to the philosophy of culture, faith and beliefs of its time in civil society. According to Brewer et al. (2011:127) "Civil society has tangible and material venues - it is comprised, in part, of physical locations and groupings with viable structures but, conceptually civil society is also constituted by different sets of ideas, values, practices, and beliefs about itself and the wider social world". In this regard, designers, who ignore the meaning that places bring to people's mind in society, try to destroy authentic places and make inauthentic ones (Gustafson 2001).

The idea of identity and authentic place was developed by geographers like Tuan, Harvey and Relph. Harvey (1997) argues that place is often seen as the 'locus of collective memory' a site where identity is created through the construction of memories linking a group of people to the past. "An inauthentic attitude towards places is transmitted through a number of processes ... that is, a weakening of the identity of places to the point where they not only look alike and feel alike and offer the same bland possibilities for experience" (Relph 1976:90). Arefi (1999:185) noted, "The rejection of the past, glorification of the new, attributing urban ills to the old and the emergence and pervasiveness of cyberspace not only contributed to the proliferation of inauthentic places but also promulgated the idea that space and place were of diminishing importance". So the attachment to place is engaged toward physical features, place design, landscape and that can be also expressed through a variety of social modalities. Carmona (2010:9) defines the design of a place affects the choices people can make:

- “Where they can and cannot go (permeability).
- The range of uses available (variety).
- How easily they can understand what opportunities it offers (legibility).
- The degree to which they can use a given place for different purposes (robustness).
- Whether the detailed appearance of the place makes them aware of the choice available (visual appropriateness).
- Their choice of sensory experience (richness).
- The extent to which they can put their own stamp on a place (personalization)”.

Virtually all religions also have a place or building in which believers come to worship and be closer to their deity or god. Within the places of worship and the acts of devotion and piety, there is an array of idols and symbols like artwork and architectural elements that serve to remind believers of gods’ closeness. According to Barlow and Silk (2004:194) religion is intricately associated with place, in both its social dimensions and its physical settings. In its social dimensions, religion is a phenomenon of place and place has multiple dimensions, including both a physical and social space (Williams 2002). For example “sacred places, religious monuments and some other related places for religious practices have a literal meaning for people. Religion as the myriad cultural expressions of people as they move, grow, marry, die, and try to make sense of it all depends crucially on place to constitute what it is ” (Barlow and Silk 2004:195). As people use or move through physical places, their religious practices go with them but the practices are necessarily adapted to new setting, modernization and new culture (Williams 2002). Place is a meaning-based concept, with meanings derived from experience with the physical features and its landscape, a fairly strong ‘social construction’ view predominates in some place writings (Hufford 1992). Through socio-cultural phenomena, the physical environment is transformed into landscapes that are the reflections of how we define ourselves (Greider and Garkovich 1994). Place attachment emotions might be conceived as the emergent product of a complex interplay between bodily

practices, material architecture and artifacts (Manzo and Devine-Wright 2013). The physical attachment to the place can constantly serve to create the effective individuals' experiences of place. According to Castello (2012:2) "one of the routes towards identification of places offered by the field of environmental perception comes from expression of the phenomena perceived by users in their existential experience". David Seamon (2000) argues "any object, event, situation or experience that a person can see, hear, touch, smell, taste, feel, intuit, know, understand, or live through is a legitimate topic for phenomenological investigation" (as cited in Castello 2012:3). According to Backhaus and Murungi (2002:235) "Phenomenology in geography, especially because of its emphasis on description, was compared to positivists conceptions of science, and was quickly seen as 'subjective'". Jackson and Smith (2014:27) believe "Phenomenology has been defined as a 'way of being', which requires us to reflect on our own consciousness of things and on our own experience in order to come to a deeper understanding of ourselves". Edward Relph, one of the pioneers of phenomenological geography, argues that, "place is not just the 'where' of something; it is the location plus everything that occupies that location seen as integrated and meaningful phenomenon" (Relph 1976:3). He also discusses that human geography exists precisely to codify the everyday experiences of people, "the experience of places, spaces and landscapes in which academic geography originates are a fundamental part of everyone's experience, and geography has no exclusive claim to them" (Relph 2010:122). David Seamon (2000) said, "There can be a phenomenology of light, of colour, of architecture, of landscape, of place, of economy, of sociability, and so forth. All of these things are phenomena because human beings can experience, encounter, or live through them in some way" (as cited in Castello 2012:3).

The places and their physical features are joined with approaches where sets of ideas, values, and beliefs, religious and social practices provide a framework for social and personal life in time. However, scholars discuss that since one of the main goals of urban design is creating a sense of place; there is a need to pay more attention to old buildings, the quality of places and built environments. Usually

Islamic architecture encompasses a wide range of styles from various backgrounds that helped to shape the traditions and rituals of Muslim populations and finds its highest expression in buildings including mosques, *madrasah*, *hammams* and others. “The phenomenon of Islamic architecture, believed to represent a singular religion and divided into a number of building styles related to the Arab, Persian, Moorish and Turkish culture areas, was widely regarded as completed” (Roose 2009:10). Islamic art is an illustrated history that takes a broad approach, covering architecture, crafts, and aesthetics and placing them within their social, cultural and historical context. Omer (2009) believes that the Islamic architecture process starts with having a proper understanding and vision, which leads to making a right intention and continues with the planning, designing and building stages, and ends with attaining the net results and how people make use of, and benefit from them. He also confirms Islamic architecture is a fine blend of all these factors which are interwoven with the treads of the belief system, principles, teachings and values of Islam. For example the specific symbolism of various geometric forms associated with Islamic architecture relates to outward forms of inner meaning and architectural utility to spiritual significance (Nasr 1990). Thus the Islamic city also reflected the rules of Islamic practices and laws in terms of physical and social relations between public and private realms and between neighbours and social groups. Bianca (2000:22) also explains “In every genuine cultural tradition, architecture and urban form can be seen as a natural expression of prevailing spiritual values and beliefs which are intimately related to the acknowledged cosmic order of the world”. There are basic components for several recurring forms, which are found in all types of religious, secular, public or private; nevertheless Islamic architecture and building structure is varied in plan, elevation, building material, different climate and decorative programmes which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

As physical reality of place has a social meaning, this work attempts to explore the questions based on the current situation of the historical *hammams* and their transformation in the city of Isfahan. The following chapters deal with several inter-

related themes including how a city supports or does not support the previous everyday experiences of people and traditional activities in Isfahan. However, modernization plays a significant role to abandon the traditional activities as well as historical *hammams* in Isfahan with substantial past experience.

## *1.6 Summary*

The main purpose of this chapter is to introduce some key concepts of the research study. Obviously, these concepts - health, place and gender - are broad and flexible, and their application and meaning varies. Thus this chapter started to discuss the concepts of place, place attachment, place identity and sense of place, which describe similar but not identical feelings and processes. The diversity of thought (see Agnew and Duncan 1989; Harvey 1997; Low and Altman 1992; Tuan 1977) and overlapping approaches was also revealed by the multi-faceted nature and complexity of those terms. This was followed by a discussion of the concept of health and its connection to religion and gender issues which influences people's attachment to places with a different cultural and religious background as well as Islamic cities. The current chapter examined the involvement of health which has been evidenced as impactful on enhancing the people's attachment to places. So different theoretical frameworks have also been developed to conceptualize how gender roles could shape the attachment to the place. The chapter showed there has been a significant relationship between place and structured gender roles in everyday life among a variety of social, cultural and religious settings in different societies (see Islamic cities). Finally it also emphasized the physical setting of the place that affects both functional and emotional/symbolic meaning to the place. The physical setting can also create messages about the place identity as well as constituting the socio-cultural functions of the attachment to the place.





# ***Chapter 2***

## ***Water and Bathing***



*Hippocrates, the classic philosopher and physician of the Hellenistic age, and a prophet of natural healing methods, said: ...water is still, after all, the best.*

(Smith and Puczko 2009:22)

## *2.1 Introduction*

This chapter discusses the importance of water in culture and religion. The main purpose is to study bathing and its relevant activities which are associated with ancient civilizations. Bathing usually received a symbolic value and meaning and water was traditionally used for rituals or other related practices. The chapter also explores the connections with body and mind and their relation to bathing in history. It also aims to form the understanding of gender issues as social formations, which affect the structures of traditional public baths. Mainly it is intended to provide an overview of the traditional public baths that are still important in the contemporary world. The experience gained from the literature review of bathing builds a better understanding of the baths as well as traditional public baths in *hammams* in particular that is the main focus of this research study in the following chapters.

## *2.2 The Importance of Water in Culture and Religion*

“Water has always fascinated humans. It has been responsible for establishing the earliest human settlements and today it still influences population distribution” (Moreira and Dos Santos 2010:147). Without water there would be no life at all on Earth and they are inseparable on this planet (Erfurt-Cooper and Cooper 2009). Water has always been a symbol of life and key to health and longevity, as well as the key to spiritual, emotional and physical wellbeing with its cleansing and purifying powers recognized in most spiritual traditions (Ryrie and Cavagnaro 1999). Water is valued for sustaining life and its practical aspects. Brito Henriques, Sarmiento, and Lousada (2010:16) argue “The management of water resources constitutes a crucial aspect in the sustainability of human societies”. They also

added (2010:16) “The possibility of a society thriving and surviving has always depended throughout history, at least in part, on the efficiency of the control of water resources and the way these are managed”. All major civilizations developed around a large source of water and for easy access to water, the first human settlements occurred along the banks of rivers and water resources. This allowed for agriculture, trade, transport and defense. Water is necessary for survival; it is a key part of culture and economic growth (Stewart 2008). Water is responsible for life on earth and plays a vital role in cultural activities. Kosso and Scott (2009) argue that ancient and medieval societies knew that water moved through the body, the land and the spirit. It means that water has social and religious value and provides a means for cleaning and purifying both literally and figuratively. Anderson and Tabb (2002) discuss water figures in notions of hygiene, health, sacred and sublime, all of which play a role in the practice of leisure as a social activity. The ancient Babylonians, Greeks, and Romans employed water and its related imagery as symbols of power, prestige, purity and piety (Kosso and Scott 2009). Ancient medicine was tightly bound to ideas about water and the balance it provided to any system, physical, cultural or religious (Kosso and Scott 2009). Culture and religion are often associated, and as a result cultural views on water are generally based on the predominant religious views of the area (Stewart 2008). A discussion of water in religion is pertinent to the discussion of water in culture and social activities. Anderson and Tabb (2002) discuss the range of approaches, disciplinary perspectives and heterogeneous views about what comprises a cultural history of water in different regions and religions. In this respect, while each religion may differ in rituals and beliefs, there are some consistent views on water related to the foundation of most religions and the natural significance of water. Most religions are based on a set of morals, what is right and wrong, and most view doing the wrong thing as being impure. Since water cleans and purifies, many religions have beliefs and rituals associated with water and moral practices. Water is often the main component of birth rituals and death rituals and plays a strong role in both life and death for everyone. Many religions recognize this significance and associate it with their own concepts of life and death. For example, many views on creation involve

water, and most of those speak of water as the very source of the first existence.

Conversely the desert is mostly described as inhospitable for humans and normally viewed as a place of death rather than life. Arid and semi-arid areas comprise approximately 35% of the global land surface (Heathcote 1983). Norberg-Schulz (1980 as cited in Burmil, Daniel, and Hetherington 1999:102) expressed “the combination of arid land and water defined a sacred place to many ancient cultures”. He also argues that the landscape where humans live has structure and embodies meaning. Accordingly, water can be a major belief and meaning-giving element in any landscape, and it is more important in arid landscape. Landscapes, especially in arid areas have a holistic and complex character, which bridges natural and cultural aspects (Burmil et al. 1999). Antrop (2000) argues that each traditional landscape expresses a unique sense or spirit of place that helps to define its identity. Abrams (2000) classified water as a central place in the practices and beliefs of many religions for two main reasons. Firstly, water cleanses and washes away impurities and pollutants, it can make an object look as good as new and wipe away any signs of previous defilement. Water purifies objects for ritual use, but can make a person clean, externally or spiritually, ready to come into the presence of his/her focus of worship. Secondly, water is a primary building block of life; it means without water there is no life, yet water has the power to destroy as well as to create. The significance of water manifests itself diversely in different religions and beliefs. In the *Avesta*, the sacred books of the Zoroastrian<sup>2</sup> religion in the pre-Islamic period of Persia, the three elements included fire (Ātar), earth (Zam, Ārmaiti) and water (the Āpas, Apám Napāt, Anāhitā) are divinities but of course they are not relevant for essence or origin of the gods (Boyce 2001). According to Boyce (2001) the deification of water in Zoroastrian is even more complex than other elements and the waters themselves are divinized, being invoked as goddesses. Studies

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<sup>2</sup> “Zoroastrianism is an ancient monotheistic Persian religion. Although Zoroastrian was a common religion of Persians and was practiced during the Achaemenid Dynasty in 600 BC, the birth of the prophet Zoroaster, according to many investigators and scholars, occurred around 1500 to 1200 to BC (...). During the Sassanain rule (AD224-642), Zoroastrianism became the official religion of the Iranian states” (Kambin 2011:110).

reviewed by Burmil et al. (1999) indicate the creation of three major religions including Judaism, Christianity and Islam as being associated with arid landscapes. In all three, water is associated literally and symbolically with significant events in human life, baptism (in Christianity) immersion of the body in a water pool before marriage (in Judaism), cleaning before Islamic practices and purification of the dead body before burial (in Islam). “The impact of religion is not confined to obvious landscape features such as places of worship and death, although these inevitably display the imprint of religious factors, perhaps more clearly than other types of landscape” (Park 2004:226). Consequently bath and bathing usually received a symbolic value and acted as landmarks which were shaped by ideology and image of water, its principles, places and activities. Thus the next section discusses this subject within the context of bathing and its related history.

## *2.3 Bathing*

Bathing and its relevant activities are often linked to ancient cultures and religions. According to Ger (1999) the most ancient rituals of bathing are deeply and closely linked with cultural categories and their significations. Twigg (2000) believes that norms of cleanliness, habits of washing and bathing have altered historically and varied cross-culturally. According to Twigg (2000) bathing has had many meanings and historically exploring these meanings enables us to gain access to aspects of current practice that might otherwise remain hidden. By focusing on bathing as an old phenomenon we can also gain some access to the day-to-day lives of people in the past, their culture and social activities. According to Smith and Puczko (2009) the most ancient evidence of bathing culture was found in the valleys besides the Indus river where an ancient culture existed. Pearce et al. (2010) argued that the healing qualities of water and bathing were well known to ancient civilizations, especially the Romans, but of course the practice of taking the waters or bathing for a combination of cleaning, health and leisure purposes is undoubtedly not restricted and extends globally. However, the Roman Empire left an incredible legacy of baths throughout history, one of the principle ones being in Bath in Britain in 76 AD as

well as the discovery of thermal springs in still-popular destinations like Spa in Belgium before 100 AD and Baden-Baden in Germany in 211 AD (Smith and Puczek 2009). Crebbin-Bailey et al. (2005) provide a comprehensive timeline showing how ancient Greek civilizations from 700 BC introduced cold water bathing for warriors; Persians (600–300 BC) already used steam and mud baths; Hebrews introduced ritual purification by water through immersion in the Dead Sea in 200 BC; and Thais (then Siam) practiced massage as far back as 100 BC.

Rituals and activities related to bathing also provided social interaction and gathering. According to Foxhall (2013) daily bathing was a social occasion which shaped the routine of many Romans though bathing habits clearly varied regionally over time and with socio-economic status and personal preferences. Erfurt-Cooper and Cooper (2009) studied historic and on-going Asian traditions of cleaning and communal bathing. They show for example that in China, India, Korea and Japan in particular, there is a long history of bathing for relaxation, cleanliness and washing activities. The ancient history of Iran also displays the significant role of bathing for social gathering, religion and culture, which can also provide the complex form of ritual purification in the old Persian religion, Zoroastrian. “Ritualized bathing is a daily routine amongst Zoroastrians during different *gāhs*, or divisions of the day” (Mehri 2011:181). Thus the early history of bathing can only be understood if interpreted within a broader cultural framework and it is essential to understand the motivations behind bathing in the ancient world, the most important cultural demands and concerns about the health of the population either mentally or physically. Cleanliness has been also conceptualized as a reflection of the civilization process (Elias 1994; Vigarello 1988). So the strength of emotional reactions to perceived dirt and emotive prompts to clean are not new (Campkin and Cox 2012). Douglas (2003) explains a definition of dirt as ‘matter out of place’ and argues that cleanliness and contamination, pollution and prohibition, are of a classification system, used by all cultures, to police boundaries. She also added from ancient times human societies used various means to ward off the dangers of sickness, which were often imbued with spiritual symbolism as much as they were the product of rational



thought. In fact, throughout the ages people strived to secure, protect, and restore or even to enhance, promote and prolong the precious moments of cleanliness and wellbeing that they may have experienced from time to time amidst their ordinary troubled lives. Cleanliness was also associated with belief where an emphasis on washing had public health benefits. Then bathing was also considered as restorative and therapeutic, and regular attendance a part of maintaining or recovering good health. Bathing was considered more than a simple hygienic measure and it was also healthy and beneficial for most diseases. Rosen (2015) show how the history of public health can capture the attention of practitioners by playing on themes that relate the past to the present. While health and ill health are terms that are culturally and socially defined, all cultures have known concepts of these terms, which vary according to how sick and healthy bodies become visible and more importantly, the magnitude and breadth (Ettorre 2012). Additionally health and cleanliness helped to eliminate the danger of spiritual defilement from material corruption and provided for patrician comfort (Porter 1999). The harmony of mind and body was also connected to bathing and their connection was an important element in ancient therapeutics. However for centuries, scholars have debated the relationship between mind and body. Johnson (1989) believes that the social sciences, including geography, have been built on the conception of mind and body as separate and acting on each other. Mark and Lyons (2014) believe that the intangible nature of mind, body and spirit makes it difficult to explore and study empirically. Therefore, the belief in mind and body separation (seen especially in Western culture) or mind and body integration (seen especially in Eastern traditions) can be found in many different cultures (Ishibashi 2014). Descartes (1984) in the seventeenth century, defined the body and mind as totally different substances (Cottingham et al. 1984:158): “The concept of body includes nothing at all which belongs to the mind, and the concept of mind includes nothing at all which belongs to the body”. On the contrary, according to Watson (2013) human beings consist of body, mind and emotions and a balanced approach to these three is essential to have healthy personalities and are bound to influence each other. Seamon (1979) explores the ways in which people experience their bodies and

considers the ways in which the habitual, bodily dimension of human experience works as one kind of tacit connection between self and world — between people's need to act and move, and the physical spaces and places in which those actions and movements take place. According to Twigg (2000) looking at bathing enables us to see something of how domestic life works and how orderings of life have a profound significance in our sense of self and of being in the world. Twigg (2000:4) believes that “Activities like bathing and washing play a central part in domestic life, as they are one of a number of forms of body maintenance that permeate our lives”. However, conception of the body forms and limits the meaning of the body in culture in various ways. Gatens (1996) explains how the division between mind and body has been conceptually and historically sexualized. Gatens (1996) argues that it means the mind has traditionally been correlated with positive terms such as reason, subject, consciousness, interiority, and activity and, of course, masculinity. The body on the other hand, has been implicitly associated with negative terms such as “passion, object, non-consciousness, exteriority, passivity and femininity” (Grosz 1989:xiv). Dabhoiwala (2012) explains the way of human thinking, investing meaning and treating society about sex differs greatly across time and place. Illich (1982) draws a sharp distinction between gender and sex and “defines gender as that which distinguishes places, times, tools, tasks, forms of speech, gestures and perception that are associated with men from those associated with women” (as cited in Siann 2013:vi). Illich (1982) also added “sex, being based upon an anatomical division of types of reproductive organs, carries connotation of an unchangeable dichotomy between men and women” (as cited in Siann 2013:vi). Some research studies shows that biological sex was a meaningful basis for dividing people into distinct groups in some way distant, or deviant from the human norm (Siann 2013). Normally the term of gender is used to discuss cultural, social and psychological aspects that are characteristic of men and women or which are assumed to be appropriate to men and women. Cultural comparison serves to enlarge the discussion of mind and body that is carried out within any given culture or tradition and the discrepancies between some of the terms used in one tradition and those used in another are of the same order as the discrepancies between some

of the terms used in any given tradition (Lambek and Strathern 1998). Thus the places for bathing built in the various characters and designed to respond to people's desires from different cultures and religions in the various geographical areas. The next section attempts to shape the places of bating or baths, with the emphasis on traditional public baths, which are still important in the contemporary world.

## *2.4 Baths, Traditional Public Baths*

“The baths were public spaces, places of resort, where citizens shared publicly in bodily processes” (Twigg 2000:19). Yegul (1992) argues that baths endorsed a certain equality of the body; and emperors sometimes made a point of attending the public baths in an attempt to promote the idea of a united and classless society. Nevertheless, some research studies also show that initially bathing was confined to the more wealthy people in private baths, and soon public baths were opened and were considered sacred places and were dedicated to several deities (Croutier 1992; Tubergen and Linden 2002). Fagan (2002) shows some baths were habitually designed to accommodate more than one bather, and written testimony makes it clear that they were used for social purposes such as welcoming visitors or extending dinner parties. Thus the act of getting clean became a social process, to be shared not only with invited guests (in private baths) but also with everyone (in public ones). Twigg (2000) also argued that exercise was followed by what was regarded as the best part of the experience, the hot baths, a series of rooms with progressively greater heat, followed by a cold plunge and at various points aromatic oils could be used to cleanse and massage the body. Exercise in baths thus entailed both the mind and the body, and was linked to wider concepts of wellness and wellbeing. So bathing for the old civilization was a social event and the abundant physical remains of public baths are found in almost every type of human settlement, from cities, towns, villages or frontier forts. Moreover, the demand for baths towards the optimum state of health, wellbeing and social activities have increased considerably throughout the ages. So the customs, rituals, and activities

associated with water and public bathing traces the origins and development of baths. Later some countries developed the sophisticated technology and architecture of bath complexes, which were most imposing on ancient civilization world history. Today there are different types of traditional public baths and in some countries they pertain to modern health and spa complexes.

According to Knapp (2000) the contemporary thesaurus search for terms for public baths covers bath(s), bathhouse(s), bathing(s), *sento*(s), *sauna*(s) and *hammam*(s). There are some similarities between the above types of public bath but too much reliance should not be placed on raw comparison between some such as Roman bath and *sauna* with western culture, *sento* with eastern culture in Japan or *hammam* with Islamic culture. The next section attempts to describe different types of traditional public baths by different functionalities, structures and recent conditions in the contemporary world.

### 2.4.1 Roman Baths

Both conceptually and architecturally Roman baths drew upon Italic models as well as Greek ones (Fagan 1999; Yegül 2010). The eminent archaeologist Sir Mortimer Wheeler wrote, “It is an axiom of architectural history that the innumerable public baths of the Roman Empire made an outstanding contribution to the general development of plan and structure” (Rook 1992:5). The Roman baths were not only a focus of social, cultural, aesthetic and physical life in the Roman Empire; in constructing and operating them the Romans made use of almost every technology available at the time. Investigating baths in detail is to look at the wide range of building materials and art used in construction and so on (Rook 1992). Roman baths evolved rapidly and evidence of many of the changes and experiments can be seen in the remains preserved on sites. The public baths of a city were a source of pride and often a gift from a wealthy citizen or the emperor; their closure could be used as a punishment for rebellious cities (Twigg 2000). Thus bathing is considered to be one of the defining characteristics of ancient Roman life and the Romans were famous for their baths, cleaning and social events. The abundant physical remains of

public baths are a testimony to this fact and are found in almost every type of Roman settlement, from cities, towns and hamlets, to religious sanctuaries and frontier forts (Fagan 2002). Roman baths were part of Roman life, mainly for men, but women were allowed to use them at special times and mixed bathing was not allowed (Robson 1992). According to Hinds (2009) public baths were among the favourite places for people to meet, whether to socialize or talk business. “In the baths, the Roman undressed, then went through three or four rooms, cold, then warm, and then hot” (Robson 1992:66). At one point there were more than eight hundred bathhouses in Rome alone and many of them were huge, splendid buildings, decorated with coloured marble and works of art (Hinds 2009). Throughout the length of the Roman Empire, there was an architectural development of the public baths located in Rome, which is attested by the archeological remains. Smith and Puczko (2009) show the Romans built very sophisticated baths all over Europe, which were integral to their way of life, and would consist of a series of cool to hot baths and a final cold plunge pool. According to Kallioniemi (2014) after the Crusades bathing establishments enjoyed a new bout of popularity in Europe and the Crusades made the acquaintance of the widespread Turkish baths in the Orient, and between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries the baths started to become common all over Europe too. Then the baths came into bad repute because of promiscuity being associated with them and people stayed there the whole day dancing and drinking and it is not surprising that many public baths became associated with diseases and were closed down for centuries (Kallioniemi 2014). Perhaps Finnish *sauna* particularly took the best features of the dry Roman baths and amalgamated them with moisture and steam which is well-established and recognized all over the world. The next section discusses the *sauna*, one of the best-known Finnish traditions and one of the few Finnish words understood worldwide.

## 2.4.2 *Sauna(s)*

The word '*Sauna*' derives from the Finnish Language. The *sauna* is the Finnish hot air bath, often called 'Steam bath' in colloquial English (Lockwood 1977). Pronounced 'sow'-na' (or sometimes 'saw'-na' in English), it is the only Finnish word used by English-speaking countries (Sylver 2004). *Sauna* has been borrowed by many other languages and the term refers both to the place where one bathes and the act of bathing itself; for example, one goes to the *sauna* and one takes a *sauna* (Sylver 2004). The *sauna* is "pervasive in Finland, a part of family life, community life and spiritual life, of business, politics, entertainment and sport" (Edelsward 1991) and Finns still practice a truly public bathing habit. Their saunas are found all over the country, in private homes, attached to commercial premises, or as community services. The literature on how far the *sauna* dates back in time seems to differ, but the furthest mentioned is that it dates back to 700 BC and has played a vital role in hygiene and social events ever since (Karjanoja and Peltonen 1997). Some researchers believe that the *sauna* was invented during the Byzantine or Scythian empires, taken by the Slavs when they migrated to the lands of ancestral Finns, and then brought by the Finns when they relocated to the rest of Scandinavia and to Russia, Germany, Australia, Canada and the United States (Sylver 2004). For instance Kaups (1976) shows the *sauna* is one of the most distinctive cultural traits the Finns brought when they migrated to the United States in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. According to Kaups (1976) no other custom or tradition of these northern Europeans generated as much interest, curiosity, flights of fancy and more recently, imitation among their non-Finnish neighbours. The first debates on the origins of the *sauna*, a conflict between Finland and Russia, took place in 1889 and as a reaction to this Finns then attempted to create a more unique and Finnish *sauna* compared to the other countries sweat baths (Harjulin 2012). According to Kallioniemi (2014) mainly the ancient Finnish *sauna* in particular has taken the best features of the dry Roman and the damp Russian steam bath, without being in any way a compromise between the two.

The Finns seem to have been the most influential of anyone in spreading the old tradition of *sauna* bathing across the globe (Sylver 2004). Overall the *sauna* tradition has remained in Finland, and is constantly becoming more popular (Karjanoja and Peltonen 1997). The Finnish *sauna* is an internationally known phenomenon, and despite its mass mediated existence around the world, still possesses its cultural significance amongst Finns. The basic *sauna* is a log or wood panelled room with a rock, or rock filled heater; the nude bathers sweat on benches placed well above floor level and modify the air humidity by tossing cupfuls of water on the heater rocks. There is a bath with space provided for washing, as well as adjacent facilities for cooling off between heat exposures are the identifiers of a *sauna* in its many forms, sizes, shapes. Harjulin (2012:7) defines “the *sauna* is an intriguing hub of Finnish culture, which functions as a place of togetherness, cleansing, therapy and rituals relating to establishing maturity and re-establishing a sense of Finnishness”. Finns have been born, healed from illnesses and passed on to the next life in the *sauna*, which goes to explain the cultural history of the place and its continuation from generation to generation. In the book of Finnish *sauna* (p. 3): *Peace of Mind, Body and Soul*, John O. Virtanen, who was born in a *sauna* in his native Finland, writes that “it is a ‘common mistake’ to equate the Finnish *sauna* with a Turkish or Russian steam bath” (as cited in Sylver 2004). “In an authentic Finnish *sauna*, the heat emanating from the special stones feels velvety soft to the skin, and it is more penetrating than the heat in a cloud of steam. The difference is so important that sometimes a person must experience more than one *sauna* to fully appreciate the distinction between genuine and imitation *saunas*” (Virtanen, 1998 as cited in Sylver 2004:1). In a well-heated Finnish *sauna* the air is dry, and one can begin to perspire in it. Sylver (2004) explains that in a Finnish *sauna* there is the peace of mind, body and soul when water poured onto hot rocks creates a sudden burst of vapour called a *löyly* which in Finnish means “the steam that rises from the sauna stove (*kiuas*) or the heat of the sauna” and which is also originated from ‘spirit of life’. Nonetheless, most *saunas* today are of the domestic kind. Yet several touristic *saunas* and public facilities are still available in Finland (see for instance public *sauna* and ice swimming in the Ruissalo area of Turku city in the south of

Finland or the Tuira area in Oulu city in the north of Finland). Obviously there is still a strong connection between using a *sauna* in a second Finnish home and nature (see summer and winter cottages, simple cabin in forest and so on). According to Timothy and Teye (2009:156) “In Finland, where approximately half of the population owns or has access to a rural second home, Finnish traditional identity and national folklore are intrinsically linked to the country’s multitude of forests and lakes, and the summer cottages that adorn them”. Despite second home ownership in places like North America and Asia are considered the exclusive domain of the wealthy privileged, notably second homes in the Nordic countries of Europe (e.g. Norway, Finland, Denmark, Iceland, and Sweden) have long been a part of everyday life and a part of ordinary living (Timothy and Teye 2009). Likewise in Finland, second homes in the above Nordic countries are often associated with natural living and *sauna*. It seems the climate and natural demands in Finland, as well as other Nordic countries in Europe, makes a big difference from *sauna* in the north of Europe and other traditional baths such as *hammams* in Islamic countries or *sentos* in Japan. Today most Finns sustain the old tradition of the *sauna*, particularly private ones. In fact, research into the social or curative value of the *sauna* in Finland is still on-going either for Finns or tourists and it can be different for the case of *hammams* in the most Islamic countries. Of course the majority of public saunas were in rapid decline as more and more people were able to afford their own *sauna* installations, but public *saunas* are being replaced by private ones but still keep their original functioning and associated perceptions. Nevertheless, all traditional baths such as *saunas*, *hammams*, and *sentos* deliver diverse structures and functionalities; what they have in common is the sense of people gathering for bathing, health, wellness and wellbeing. The next section describes the *sento*, public bath in Japan, and develops the recent conditions in the country today.



### 2.4.3 *Sento(s)*

*Sentos* are traditional Japanese public baths. The Japanese, like the Finns and Muslims, are also convinced that bathing, especially in hot springs, is medically beneficial in both a preventive, wellbeing and remedial capacity (Fagan 2002). *Sento* provide a place for bathing and soak in an over-sized tub filled with wonderfully hot water. *Sentos* were usually located at the end of a hallway or were sited in a structure entirely independent from the main house and one would be intensely aware of the carefully constructed garden views when walking to and from the bath, something considered an integral part of the bathing experience (Smith and Yamamoto 2001). Fagan (2002:3) said “Like the Romans, the Japanese bathe communally in hot water; nudity is an accepted facet of the public bathing process and the bath, despite its deep religious roots and association, has evolved into a sensual rather than a spiritual, experience”. Fagan (2002) explains in their heyday the public baths of several cities were social centres, where lovers met, philosophers debated and commoners gossiped. Todd (2011:199) defines “Japanese *Furo* bath (also *Ofuro*) as a hot, bubbling bath used for relaxation and usually enjoyed in the nude at a Japanese *sento* (public bath) or *onsen* (hot spring)”. Thus *sento* or *onsen* were places of mixed bathing used by men and women, young or old alike in the past and have historically been part of an important community building practice. According to Ishiyama (2009:7), “The people of Edo<sup>3</sup> were more open-minded about public nudity compared to today’s populace, but it’s also important to understand that nudity helped equalize a population that was highly structured and extremely conscious”. According to Downs (1990) a frequently expressed view and possibly a wrong stereotype nowadays of Japanese culture is that the Japanese are indifferent to nudity and the body does not convey erotic messages and the apparent basis for this belief is the conviction that mixed bathing in public bathhouses (*sento*) is the

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<sup>3</sup> Edo is used for Tokyo’s name in pre-modern times. The feudal Edo-period or Tokugawa period, also called Edo period in Japan (1603–1867), the final period of traditional Japan, a time of internal peace, political stability, and economic growth under the shogunate (military dictatorship) founded by Tokugawa Ieyasu.

norm. According to Shirane (2013:749), “Public baths are the shortest route to moral and spiritual enlightenment and careful reflection shows it is a truth of heaven, earth and all nature that everyone, wise or foolish, righteous or evil, rich or poor, high or low, goes naked in to the bath”. According to Francoeur et al. (2004:638), “Gender definitions in Japan can transcend the anatomical; masculine and feminine attributes can fade or fuse through conventions”. They also argue that this is most clearly seen in public rituals and gender roles were clearly defined throughout history, but they were also being treated differently and challenging in modern Japan. According to Ishiyama (2009) since the start of the feudal Edo-period from 1603 to 1867, going to *senjo* was how most of the population in Japan bathed and at one time, the *senjo* industry was composed of almost 10,000 privately owned, small businesses, but sadly it has seriously declined up to the present and some *senjo* owners struggle to keep their doors open. Clark (1994) in his book shows that today, the Japanese bathe daily, alone or with other family members, as a routine part of regular hygiene; they also often bathe socially with friends or workmates; and occasionally they bathe in novel circumstances in which they reinforce their ‘Japaneseness’ or ethnic identity. While mixed bathing in Japan was true in the recent past, nevertheless as Downs (1990) argues, it is extremely rare today and there are only a few *onsen* (resort spas) where mixed (*kon-yoku*) bathing in indoor or outdoor baths (*rotenburo*) is permitted. They are relatively remote and patronized largely by older people. While separate baths were not always the norm in the past, today most resorts in Japan are providing separate baths for men and women and the number of mixed indoor baths is extremely limited for tourists, entertainment or family bathing (Clark 1994). As Clark (1994:104) argues, “Today, however, as the number of people who visit the hot spring baths increases, the number of mixed baths has been declining”. He also added at the request of women customers, many proprietors have installed separate bathing facilities for women and the primarily new baths for women were fairly small, reflecting the proportion of women who desired a separate bath. Ishiyama (2009) also studied *senjo* in Japan and reveals how the old business is struggling with a 21<sup>st</sup> century transformation and still provide the traditional bathing activities. According to Ishiyama (2009) a

traditional *sento* was still a place to learn about meaningful local community issues, maintain a social dialogue with neighbours, and practice a traditional form of culture. Today, baths are built in an equal size for men and women visitors, have been constructed both to obviate criticism of sexual discrimination and to satisfy the owners' desire to offer top-quality bathing facilities to both sexes (Clark 1994).

However, Laing and Weiler (2008) express that Spa tourism in Japan caters mainly for domestic tourists and almost occurs in association with thermal hot springs; many have inns attached, while others are open to the public and/or provide public baths (*sento*). “*Onsen*-type spas in Japan are, however, used differently from the spas of European tradition, where the emphasis is more on health treatment than the act of bathing; however, this is fast becoming popular in Japan too as the implicit health benefits of Japanese mineral springs are used more explicitly to attract customers” (Erfurt-Cooper and Cooper 2009:2). For instance Osaka provide a spa in Japan that resembles a ‘Theme Park’ and it contains spas and historical baths from different global, historical and fictional places: Ancient Rome, Greece, Atlantis, the Mediterranean, Finland, Japanese, Islamic, Persian, Balinese, etc. (Spaworld 2016). The next section studies the *hammam*, its concept, related history and focuses on the bathing tradition in Islamic cities.

#### 2.4.4 *Hammam(s)*

*Hammam*, ‘spreader of warmth’ or ‘to warm’ in Arabic, is often called ‘*Garmabeh*’ in old Persian, which literally means ‘hot water’ and usually became synonymous with a ‘steam bath’ in English terminology. However, most people in western culture in particular are accustomed to call a *hammam* simply a Turkish bath. According to Hakim (2013) in Europe the term *hammam* normally denotes a steam bath, still referred to as a ‘Turkish bath’ and in French as ‘*bain maure*’. *Hammam*, a traditional Islamic public bath, is the direct descendent of the classical bath transmitted via Byzantines and the culture of Islam, though with significant differences (Kilito and Geesey 1992). Sibley (2006) also argues that the *hammam* has existed since the

Hellenistic period and flourished with the Romans and developed directly out of the Byzantine bath.

As mentioned earlier, baths and their related traditions existed prior to the Islamic period and were inherited from Greece and Rome, clearly becoming an important social complement in the pre-Islamic world. Following the same general layout of a Roman bath marks the transition from the Roman bath to the Islamic *hammam* in medieval ages and the Islamic period (Ball 2002). Islamic culture led to the development of the ancient idea of public baths and the *hammam* entered in the alleys of the Muslim cities, carried with it more than just a public bath. Jaglarz (2013) believes that *hammam* fit to the specific logic of the purity of Islam, understandable only to this culture but it can refer to the times of the Eastern Empire and, in contrast, with the first Roman bath, *hammam* is a secluded place. Sarmiento and Kazemi (2014) also discuss that whereas the bathing tradition died out in the west, it continued in the Levant after the arrival of Muslim Arabs, and the period following the rise of Islam witnessed a rapid development in public baths and some modifications from Roman to Islamic bathing. According to Hakim (2013) the term *hammam* means a location or place for cleaning oneself and in popular use, it denoted a public or private bath with emphasis on the former, because in traditional Arabic-Islamic cities only an extreme minority had *hammams* within their house. Petersen (2002) also explains the *hammam* is found throughout the Islamic world and together with the mosque are regarded as one of the essential features of an Islamic city. *Hammam* like other traditional public baths in the world (see *sauna*, *sento*) is not only a specific type of building or place with distinctive architectural features, relying on the use of abundant amounts of water, but also a critical site for hygiene and health care, and an important place for social and cultural relationships and performances (Kilito and Geesey 1992). For instance Fagan (2002) studied four elements for similarities of bathing in *hammam* and *sauna*. Firstly Fagan (2002) expresses bathing in public Islamic baths and public *sauna* can be more than just a bodily necessity and it can be cultural choice. Second, the corporeal pleasures of bathing for both places, when shared tend to promote a

sociability that in turn transforms essentially pragmatic public baths into meeting places and venues for social interaction. Third, the bathing ritual is often felt to be medically beneficial, not just for generating a sense of wellbeing, but also for curing illnesses. Finally, regular bathing is often associated with civilized living and spiritual purity. As well as having different origins, the two *hammam* and *sauna* act in different ways through time, modernity, and urbanity.

*Hammams* and their connected practices are an integral part of the Islamic lifestyle in general but the structure can be explored in the various domains among Persian, Turkish and Arabic architectural styles, art and design. *Hammams* in Iran, Turkey and the Arabic countries rose up with significant differences in the Islamic world. Perhaps the Turkish have been the most influential of anyone anywhere in spreading the tradition of *hammam* in Turkish baths across the globe as generally ‘*hammam*’ was globalized and associated with Turkish baths. Smith and Puczeko (2009:22) express, “the Ottoman Empire built Turkish baths in 800 AD and knights from Britain first experienced them during the Crusades in 1200 AD”. Then *hammams* were introduced into Greece and Spain under Moorish influence and became quite popular in other parts of Europe where they were, and still are, known as Turkish Baths and even made their way to America, but do not seem to have become as popular as in Europe (Erfurt-Cooper and Cooper 2009). In the Islamic tradition *hammams* were used by men and women for religious purposes as advocated by the prophet Muhammad (Erfurt-Cooper and Cooper 2009) and developed the right to visit *hammam* which became so much a part of Muslims lives.

*Hammam* in Iranian culture defines where one bathes or the act of bathing itself; for example, one goes to the *hammam* and one takes a *hammam*. When the Arab conquest of Persia occurred in the 7th Century, this led to the eventual decline of the Zoroastrian religion in Iran and with the conversion of the population to Islam, bathing and ritual purity as well as *hammam* became a vital requirement of Islamic life. Clearly baths and their related tradition in pre-Islamic Iran played a significant role in the country. Baths were an important centre for the propagation in Pre-Islamic Iran but, however, the number of baths seems to have been limited due

to the Zoroastrian religion's reverence for the holy element of water (Iranicaonline 2015). But since the 7th century, *Hammam* in Iran has been increasingly built all over the country. While there are many different types of *hammams*' architecture, the well-known structure and forms can be attributed to Safavid dynasty (1501 to 1722). *Hammams* in the Safavid dynasty were inspired by Islamic structure as well as pre-Islamic architecture, art and design that will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. There I will analyze the structure and architecture of *hammams* in Iran and conduct case studies in Isfahan focusing on historical background, cultural activities and transformation in the city. Of course, a notable number of *hammams* in modern day Isfahan have vanished because most Iranian people use their own private baths. Additionally changing lifestyle, urbanization and modernity has also resulted in a significant decline in the number of public *hammams* in Iran, as well historical cities such as Isfahan, over time.

Consequently the majority of historical *hammams* have declined in popularity, need regeneration, diversification or tourism development. Of course, some historical *hammams* in different cities of Iran have been modified in various ways or re-defined in ever-changing forms to meet the fluctuating needs of tourists or reforming culture and traditional activities for tourist attraction. Then the modifications, conservation or renovation can also operate for historical *hammams* and might help to formulate some strategies. This will be discussed in the case studies in Isfahan city, in Chapter 6.

## 2.5 Summary

This chapter started by analyzing the social and cultural role of water in history and how it has shaped spiritual beliefs, bathing and cleanliness. Moreover, the structures of traditional public baths in different geographical areas with special religious and cultural variety were discussed. The chapter studied the history of bathing and examined the development of traditional public baths having a significant role in social-cultural activities and religious beliefs. This work also showed how the history of bathing and baths is interwoven with issues of mind, body and gender. So

the literature review of bathing was an essential step to form the main aspects and features of this research study that mainly covers *hammams* in Isfahan. The main aim of this chapter was to shed light on the subject of traditional public baths; with the emphasis on *hammams* in Islamic countries as well as Iran and made a potential connection to the research case studies in Isfahan in the following chapters (see Chapters 6 and 7). It is important to note that the development of traditional public baths is expected to increase and this is primarily due to the widespread link to proper transformation, management, regeneration or tourism development as well as health/spa industry expansion. So *hammams* and their traditional activities in contemporary Iran, as well as historical Iranian cities such as Isfahan, play an essential role in cultural transformation and tourism development and can also be introduced as an innovation in health tourism destinations.

## ***Chapter 3***

### ***Islamic Cities and Isfahan***





### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the key characteristics of Islamic cities and largely focuses on Isfahan, which has been playing a significant role in the multi-dimensional facets in Iran (history, politics, religion, heritage, tourism, etc.). The chapter focuses on Islamic official rules and practices for the endowment in Islamic law, *waqf*, and provides an overview of the conception of *waqf* in Islam. This chapter points to the essential role of *waqf* in Islamic cities in shaping the religious or public buildings (see *hammams* and mosques) as well as the maintenance of other buildings. This work provides background information about Iran and it basically examines the most important periods in the development of Isfahan, which had significant influence on values, designs, buildings, structures and urbanization. The chapter also highlights the state and current condition of the contemporary city in conjunction with traditional activities and the city's transformation.

### 3.2 Islamic Cities

The city is a part of human lives, their settlement and their interaction. Krupat (1985) defines the city is the ultimate creation of the human mind and is an aggregation of people and activities unparalleled in the history of civilization. He also added cities have the potential to pull people apart and to bring them together to produce constraints and to create opportunities. Alexander (2013) argues that a city's inherent complexity should be viewed as a multi-layered latticework, rather than a branched and tree-like diagram that separates and fragments functions and activities. Alexander believes cities must be understood as overlaid sets, sub-sets and infinite possibilities of interaction. The city has been walled in many civilizations and for certain periods of history. This was considered necessary in order to protect people, houses and businesses as well as their richness. Gaube (2008) argues the city not only provides protection, it is also the seat of government, the centre of intellectual and religious life, the locus of economic activities and the dwelling place of a population engaged in these urban functions. The city consists of

parts that are deeply inter-connected with patterns of residence, circulation, public spaces and facilities, mutually and dynamically collaborative, to yield a culture of urban life (Jayyusi et al. 2008). According to Gehl (2013) generally city life and regard for people in city space must have a key role in the planning of cities and built-up areas and a great deal of knowledge has been amassed on the connection between physical form and human behaviour. The role of cities has been increasingly considered as a critical part of the global economy (Fanni 2006). Thus there are several factors which drive city development, which are regarded as valuable technological, artistic, cultural, and social achievements in different centuries. In order to shape urban social structure, every city manager has to find a way to combine the multi-dimensional social-cultural issues and city arrangement. Moreover, religion was usually identified with the earliest stages of cultures and recently also some investigations have disclosed the surprising complexity of religious phenomena (Allen 1978). Religious practices have numerous effects on social gathering and are largely compelled by the city structure and its special features. "Cities have been a magnet for culture, including architecture" (Sinha 2000:376). In the words of Aldo Rossi (1966) "Architecture came into being along with the first traces of the city; it is deeply rooted in the formation of civilization and is a permanent, universal and necessary artifact" (as cited in Jencks and Kropf 1997:36). In every genuine cultural tradition, architecture and urban form can be seen as a natural expression of prevailing spiritual values and beliefs, which are intimately related to the acknowledged cosmic order of the world (Bianca 2000). With the focus on Islamic cities, there is no firm consensus on what the term Islamic city means. The connection between Islam and the city is the pivotal issue in the concept of the 'Islamic city' (Haneda 2013). Interest in the concept of the 'Islamic city' first emerged in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century among European scholars (Falahat 2013). The concept of the 'Islamic city' has long been debated, but it is undeniable that a distinct urban tradition has developed in the Middle Eastern countries (Bianca 2000). In fact the penetration of Islam to various lands in Asia, Africa and Europe had an irreversible and overwhelming impact on Islamic cities and urban development. Similar to other ancient traditions, Islam has developed

and maintained a set of ritualized patterns of human behaviour which embraced all aspects of daily life, on an individual as well as a collective level, permeating activities with constant references to an acknowledged religious truth (Bianca 2000). According to Jamalinezhad et al. (2012) Islamic city means a city built up on the Quranic, prophetic principles and teaching. Abu-Lughod (1987:172) defines “Cities as processes, not products” and explains the three Islamic elements that set in motion the processes that give rise to Islamic cities: “a distinction between the members of the Umma and outsiders, which led to juridical and spatial distinction by neighbourhoods; the segregation of the sexes which gave rise to a particular solution to the question of spatial organization; and a legal system which, rather than imposing general regulations over land uses various types in various places, left to litigation of neighbours the detailed adjudication of mutual rights over space and use”. One of the earliest codifications of the characteristics of the Islamic city, William Marcais (1928) believes Islam is essentially an urban religion (see also Fischel 1956). William Marcais (1928) explains that the prophet Muhammad himself was an urbanite suspicious of nomads, that the leadership cadres of the early Islamic proselytizers were members of the urban bourgeoisie of the Peninsula who ruled that the requirement for the Friday communal prayer be solemnized at a congregational mosque which made urban living necessary for the full Muslim life (Abu-Lughod 1987). Islam rapidly expanded through conquest and trade, and a highly developed civilization emerged which has remained a source of culture and pride to Muslims for well over a thousand years (Michon 2008). Thus new cities were often founded by new powers/dynasties in Islam, thus acknowledging that the Islamic civilization was not merely a set of religious beliefs and laws but also a functioning society which was Islamic in the sense that it organized the life of Muslims into a community not just of believers but of doers (Marçais 1928). Additionally architecture plays an important role in Islamic cities and their development, in shaping Muslims practices, culture and social interaction. Bianca (2000) explains the source of the inner unity of Islamic architecture, therefore, has to be sought in the realm of such pre-formal archetypes and not in ephemeral stylistic features. Lapidus (2014) suggests that to understand the physical form of

traditional cities, the relationships between social organization and spatial patterns is required. Lapidus (2014) studied the forces existing in Muslim cities as an urban phenomena and concluded that the urban society of 'Islamic cities' was not defined by any particular political or socio-economic body but rather it was a society that divided essential powers and functions among its different component groups. In many 'Islamic cities' there were no pre-planned maps for development and cities grew instead through the constructions made by people who wanted to live in that place; that does not mean that there were not any shaping forces underlying these developments (Falahat 2013). Islamic practice itself is prescriptive in terms of behaviour; undoubtedly the desire for communal worship is rooted in a long tradition of public gathering, especially on Fridays and important religious occasions (Kahera, Abdulmalik, and Anz 2009). The phenomenon of Islamic architecture, believed to represent a singular religion and divided into a number of building styles related to the Arab, Persian, Moorish and Turkish cultural areas, was widely regarded as completed (Roose 2009). Early Islamic urban construction, and the related architecture and representational art, were mainly concerned with pre-existing cultures. "A modest list of the forces that created the traditional Islamic city would include: a terrain/climate; a technology of production, distribution, and transportation; a system of social organization; and a legal/political system that, in Islamic places and times, could vary considerably" (Abu-Lughod 2013:18).

Ibn Khaldun, an Arab geographer and historian several centuries ago, provided a definition of the Islamic city: a city must have a congregational Friday mosque and it must have a market/chief *bazaar* nearby. According to Pourjafar et al. (2014) a *bazaar* is one characteristic factor of cities in different historical periods, which makes a city's social and economic life a sign of progress or backwardness. They also argue sometimes, a *bazaar* is the centre of protest and riots against the government or political system and determines the destiny of a society. The mosque is the most important building in Islam and is seen as a great religious symbol of Islamic cities. In the early days of Islam the statement was true in every aspect of Islamic culture but in the present day it is true only in the sense that the mosque is

an architectural symbol that caters for the religious rituals of the Muslim society (Tajuddin and Rasdi 2014). Mosque architecture is often seen as one of the highest achievements and noblest expressions of Muslim art and all mosques around the world share some common elements (Porterfield 2009). According to Ibn Khaldun, *hammam* is of functional significance to prepare believers for the Friday prayer and is strongly associated with the Islamic complex (Richards and Hall 2003). Georges Marais (1940) also mentions the importance of *hammam* and of *bazaar* in the founding of the Islamic city next to the Friday mosque (as cited in Abu-Lughod 2013:18). Awad (1984) argues that the *hammam* is a part of the Islamic practices that every Muslim should bathe before performing the Friday prayer and also was a place for informal business discussion and a place for recreation and relaxation. According to Bianca (2000) an extremely important facility in Islamic society was the *hammam*, which together with the mosque and the *bazaar* constituted the triad of essential urban facilities in the Islamic city. He argues that it allowed easy accomplishment of the great ablutions while also serving as an alternating meeting place for both male and female society. The *hammam* had a ritualistic role in the performance of prayer. On the other hand, as Islamic rules emphasize the ritual cleaning before worship, the two monuments, mosque and *hammam*, have gone quite naturally together. *Hammams* were mostly established within the framework of a charitable endowment, *waqf*, with personnel to serve the needs of Muslims. For this reason, I will focus now on an analysis of *waqf*, discussing its definition and its significant role in Islamic cities.

### 3.3 *Waqf in Islam*

There is no doubt that the system of Islamic endowment, *waqf*, is one of the most important systems in Islamic cities. Pious foundations are known in the Islamic world as a *waqf*. The definition of *waqf* in its literal sense means standing, pausing, staying, stillness and abstinence. The word *waqf* and its plural are derived from the Arabic root verb *waqafa*, which means causing a thing to stop and stand and the second meaning is simply pious (Charitable) foundations (Çizakça 1998). According

to El Basyoni (2011) *waqf* plays an enormous role in many aspects of social, economic and urban development throughout the centuries in Islamic cities, where *waqf* was known to both the general public and the elite. Omnipresent in both inherited and founded cities within the Islamic world, *waqf* literally touched every socio-economic sector within urban centres as well as, to a certain extent, within rural environments (Deguilhem 2008). The essential elements are that a person, wishing to commit a pious deed, declares part of his or her property such as land, a commercial activity, estates, etc. to be henceforth inalienable and designates individuals or public utilities as beneficiaries of its yields (Pioppi 2007). All over the vast Islamic world, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, magnificent works of architecture as well as a myriad of services vitally important for the society have been financed and maintained for centuries through the *waqf* system (Çizakça 1998). *Waqf* appears to have emerged as a credible commitment device to give property owners economic security in return for social services and throughout the Middle East, it long served as a major instrument for delivering public goods in a decentralized manner (Kuran 2001). *Waqf* reflects the basic Islamic notion concerning the relation between the individual and the community and could fulfill Islamic functions by voluntary donations made by the well to do. The essence of *waqf* reflects various manifestations and emphasis on the Muslim belief in life after death. The holy prophet of Islam, Mohammad (PBUH), undertook *waqf* as a religious practice and taught this practice to Muslims throughout the world. *Waqf* increasingly influenced and shaped numerous infrastructural aspects in Islamic cities as well as in the daily lives of individuals living in the cities from the early Islamic world and in the daily lives of individuals living in the cities from the early Islamic centuries up through the medieval period to modern contemporary times (Deguilhem 2008). Therefore, *waqf* has long been at the very centre of daily Islamic life, establishing religious, cultural, and welfare institutions and serving as a legal means to keep family property intact through several generations (McChesney 2014). Thus one of the factors which facilitated the growth of the religious sector in Islam was *waqf*. El Basyoni (2011) also explains the relationship between *waqf*, architecture and urbanism as a very old and effective relationship in Islamic cities

and plays an important role in achieving a good urban environment and providing for needs with a high degree of efficiency. *Waqf* plays a decisive role in influencing, shaping, and developing urban space and structures have been formulated within the framework of Islamic urban studies, adding religious endowments as a major characteristic to the definition of an 'Islamic city' (Werner 2000).

According to Sait and Lim (2006) *waqf* was envisaged as a private pious act of a large number of endowments which were dedicated to mosques, schools and *hammams* run by the religious scholars and clergy. Boggs (2010) argues that the *waqf* system explains why mosques and *hammams* are in such close proximity; the maintenance of the mosque has depended on the successful running of the *hammam*, for the profits from the *hammam* would fund the up-keep of the mosque. *Waqf* properties create opportunities for undertaking all or part of the costs for religious duties and the urban services and provide low-cost housing. A number of the major Islamic monuments or heritage sites in Middle Eastern cities were built to house institutions founded on *waqf* bequests by the wealthy Muslims, especially by women during the period of the Ottoman<sup>4</sup> and Safavid<sup>5</sup> empires (Ruggles 2000). Such *waqf* arrangement had the double benefit of providing the wealthy with a way to secure their property in perpetuity while at the same time providing important income and resources to the ranks of religious scholars who constructed the regulations of this system and thus avoided subservience to the state (Feener 2004). In Iran, the *waqf* tradition has been of a particular importance. It originated in early Islam and yet is a multi-faceted institution of social, economic, legal and religious elements. Iran has been one of the *Shia* countries, one of the largest number of *Shia* Muslims in the world since the Safavid dynasty and it brings to the fore the essential role of *waqf* practices in the country. According to Hallaq (2009) *waqf* provided

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<sup>4</sup> The Ottoman Empire (1280-1808) was the last great Muslim political entity to emerge in the later Middle Ages, and it continued its existence until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Shaw and Shaw 1976; Somel 2003).

<sup>5</sup> The Safavid Empire (1502-1736) ruled Persia for nearly two and a half centuries, longer than any other dynasty since the pre-Islamic period (Melville 1996).



significant contributions toward building mosques, *hammams*, hospitals, and a variety of public works in the Safavid dynasty onwards, particularly in Isfahan and other important cities of Iran. Shah Abbas I, the king of the Safavid dynasty from 1588 until 1629, took several steps in order to increase his commercial, political and economic power in Isfahan and create a suitable imperial capital. One of his important policies was to make public buildings and the royal square complex part of *waqf* (Quinn 2015). Shah Abbas I also converted his own private estates into *waqf*, so that he might enjoy the income (Powelson 1988). The next section gives general information about Iran and focuses mainly on the history of Isfahan and its development.

### *3.4 Iran: Background Information*

Iran is one the largest countries in the Middle East, located in Western Asia. It has borders with Turkey, Iraq and Kuwait in the west, Armenia and Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan in the north, and Afghanistan and Pakistan in the east. It is bathed by the Caspian Sea in the north and by the Persian Gulf in the south (see Figure 3.1). It is located in the mid-latitude belt of arid and semi-arid regions. It is dominated by mountains, vast deserts and it is also a nation rich in natural resources. Mountains, deserts, rivers and permanent glaciers are the important elements that determine the appearance of Iran and they play an essential role in tourist attractions. Mountains cover half of Iran's area and also display some geological features and related phenomenon such as hot mineral springs as well as a wide variety of volcanic features. In mountain areas there is a concentration of hot springs and they are traditionally used for bathing or treatment in the country, particularly in the northern region (Amrikazemi and Mehrpooya 2006). They also mention three important phenomena for tourism: crater lakes, valleys and mineral springs.



**Figure 3. 1 Map of Iran**

Source: Geology.com [Accessed November 2016]

Kheirabadi (2000) discusses how the primary physical elements have been shaping the physiography of the Iranian plateau. The location and morphology of Iranian cities have long been influenced by both physical and cultural factors (Kheirabadi 2000). The major cultural factors have been Iran's long religious and socio-political history and its rich cultural inheritance. Generally, traditional Iranian cities are a response to the religious, economic, social and cultural requirements of their inhabitants and because of the severe arid conditions of the Iranian Plateau; it is also, to a great degree, a rational response to climate characteristics. Gaube (1979)

discusses the origins, historical development, morphologies and the importance of water in traditional Iranian cities and argues that urbanization on the Iranian plateau and the neighbouring areas to the east and to the northeast started much later than in Mesopotamia. "Whereas in Mesopotamia since the late fourth millennium B.C., cities characterized by walls, temples and other monumental buildings, as well as special areas for trade and crafts, developed in Iran and neighbouring areas to the east and to the north east 'proto-urban'<sup>6</sup> settlements developed in the Bronze Age, i.e. before ca. 2000 B.C" (Gaube 2008:161). Sharifi et al. (2013) categorizes historical Iranian urban planning into two main periods: pre- and post-Islamic age. He mentions the former started from the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C with the Medes Empire, and continued until the 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D. when the Arabs conquered the Sassanid Empire, Pre-Islamic cities are primarily known through archeology. In contrast, during the post-Islamic period, the development of cities was unique in character, making them distinctive and different from the cities in the pre-Islamic period or those in other areas of the Islamic world. Of course the Zoroastrians in the pre-Islamic period of Iran emphasized light as a source of beauty and clarity, continued to exert influence even in the Islamic period and Islamic culture influenced Iranian architecture, city development and some gradually affected native structures (Daniel and Mahdī 2006). Cleaning and religious life has been a main inspiration behind much of Iranian architecture throughout its history (Daniel and Mahdī 2006). Water became one of the underlying factors in both founding cities and also in the continuance of their life and religious practices (Falahat 2013).

However, Moosavi (2005) argues that among the most significant geographical and religious factors, economy has always occupied an important role in the development of cities as well as Iranian cities and in fact, the survival of a city was highly dependent on its economic power and among the diverse public spaces allocated to economic and commercial activities (see *bazaar*). He also adds for

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<sup>6</sup> Some authors consider the trend towards clustered settlement, thus evident from many of the areas, indicate the creation of surrounding features that marked the edge of the settlement in some parts of the Bronze Age and can be called proto-urban (Harding 2000).

example how the history of the *bazaar* and urbanization are interrelated with each other and in fact, no city in Iran can be imagined without a *bazaar*, which has become an integrated part of Iranian culture. The *bazaar* is a traditional public space in Iranian cities and always a great section of commercial activities in urban life and was also the centre of social, cultural, political and religious activities (Assari and Mahesh 2012). Thus in Iran the *bazaar* represents a set of religious organizations providing an alliance between Islam and commerce (Kheirabadi 2000; McLachlan 2004). *Bazaar* in Iranian cities has mainly accommodated a great section of commercial activities in urban life and can be comparable to a plaza in cities of pre-industrial Europe (Mahmoudi and Fanaei 2009). According to Kheirabadi (2000) while the majority of Iranian cities evolved out of agricultural settlements, trade played a major role in their development and, of course, the *bazaar* became the core of the city and influenced the pattern of urban growth. Peretz (1994:505) “the bazaar in Iran was much more than a place to exchange goods; it was also a marketplace for ideas and opinions to which the country’s rulers were especially attentive”. The *bazaar* played a connecting role for jointing the main gates of cities to the main city square, network of merchants, bankers, and craftsmen in traditional Iranian cities. The *bazaar* also remained the centre of commercial activity for ethnic and religious minorities in traditional Iranian cities. McLachlan (2004:144) noted “In Isfahan, Tabriz and other cities there were also pockets of Armenian and Jewish traders, some with specialized activities arising from their religious affiliation”. McLachlan (2004:144) displays for example “Usury and trading in liquor or other goods proscribed for Muslims were examples of this niche trading by minority trading groups and obviously in other areas of North Africa, the Middle East and Asia, a more varied mixture of religious quarters was apparent”. Although the *bazaar* developed as a commercial centre, it also became the centre of cultural, religious, communal/social interaction and political concerns as well and this factor in particular distinguishes traditional Iranian cities from the so-called traditional Islamic city with the Friday Mosque as its centre (Kheirabadi 2000). Then city structures related to public activities or public places (see for example *hammam* or *caravanserai*) were located along or very close to, the *bazaar* and these structures

were spatially distinguished from one another, they were closely integrated functionally. Isfahan was one of the most important cities in Iran, positioned as it is on the crossroads of the main north-south and east-west trade routes that cross Central Asia. The next section discusses Isfahan and its development.

### *3.5 The Development of Isfahan*

Isfahan is a historical city that has a particular role in Islamic history and is surrounded by deserts and semi-desert areas. It is an ancient metropolis that sits across timeless trade routes, and is Iran's third largest city after Tehran and Mashhad (see Figure 3.2). The history of Isfahan can be traced back to the Paleolithic period based on recent discoveries of archeologists, who have found artifacts dating back to this period. Ancient Isfahan was part of the Elamite Empire under the name of Aspandana. The Muslim Arabs captured the region around Isfahan in the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> Century A.D. and they encountered two cities, *Yahudiyya* (the Jewish city) and *Jayy*. *Yahudiyya* is the ancestor of present-day Isfahan, while only a few ruins, a debris mound, and a medieval bridge, *Shahrestan*, over the Zayandeh-River about eight kilometers south-east from the centre of present-day Isfahan, bear witness to ancient *Jayy* (Gaube 2008). After the Muslim conquest of Iran, the Arabs built their first Friday Mosque in the region of Isfahan at *Jayy*. According to Gaube (2008) the decision to build the mosque in *Jayy* rather than in *Yahudiyya* was governed by rational and strategic reasons and due to its fortification and the open spaces enclosed within the wall, *Jayy* was most fitted to serve the Arabs as a military camp.





Figure 3. 2 Map of Isfahan Province

Source: Fandlr.com (Modified by Author) [Accessed November 2016]

Isfahan plays an important role among Iranian cities because of its central location at a safe distance from troubled borderlands, and the city's economic potential is likely tied to its location. Its central position in Iran made it the capital of the empire under two dynasties, the Seljuqs (1037-1157) and the Safavid (1502-1736). The two dynasties manifested themselves in the urban buildings and fabric, which gave Isfahan the reputation of an oriental city and reflected the important periods of the city development. By oriental city I mean the same as Sunar (2014), when he refers to the city, which was constituted merely by royal headquarters and opposed to the western city's commercial and extrovert characteristics. Sunar (2014) mainly discusses the Occident Max Weber's definition about oriental cities and argues the oriental city from Weber's perspective did not have material or religious autonomy and never developed a separate dynamic. However, Sunar (2014:141) introduces the position of the city in the history of western civilization compared with the Orient; "Without this comparison to oriental cities, it would be almost impossible to demonstrate these qualities in western cities" (Sunar 2014:141). Van De Mieroop (1997:253) analysed the main opposition between east and west according to Weber relating to the matter of power: "the east was identified by despotism, the

west by freedom of the individual. This distinction affected an autonomous political Centre, while in the east the city was always subject to larger political entities". Therefore the change in political conditions in Isfahan after the decline of the Seljuqs Empire in the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> Century deprived Isfahan of its function as the capital and the Mongols captured and governed the city. Later the era of Safavid rule (1501-1722) was a time of dynamic urban, religious and political development in Iran, when all the arts attained new heights of brilliance and opulence and architecture flourished with the growth of cities (Canby 2002). Shor (2016) reveals even though Isfahan was entirely destroyed by Tamerlane in 1387, the city was rebuilt and became one of the most magnificent oriental cities by the great Shah Abbas in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century.

According to Falahat (2013) the Safavid dynasty came to power with the support of many traditional cities such as Tabriz, Qazvin and Isfahan; thus at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century the initial attempts to rebuild Isfahan were undertaken by the first two kings of the Safavid dynasty, Ismail (1502-1524) and Tahmasp (1524-1576). The main concern of the two rulers was the reconstruction and the embellishment of the area around the old *maidan*; an open area in the city used as a marketplace and parade ground. According to Gaube (1979:82) the rulers in the early Safavid dynasty in Isfahan started to "build two mosques, one *madrassa*, and one *hammam* along the street going from the old *maidan* in a southwestern direction". After losing Baghdad to the Turks, and fearing for the safety of the old capitals, Tabriz and Qazvin, which were considered too close to the Ottoman Empire, Shah Abbas I (1587-1629), one of the most renowned Safavid monarchs, chose Isfahan as the capital of Iran. Officially in the winter of 1597 Shah Abbas I transferred the capital from Qazvin in northwestern Iran to Isfahan. Matthee (2009) argues that Shah Abbas I had an outward looking agenda, epitomized by an energetic foreign policy, created a freshly inviting political and economic environment centred on a new and resplendent capital of Isfahan. In Isfahan the nucleus of Shah Abbas I's planning was once again a *maidan*, since this was the ideal layout to unify the most important functions of a city as the administrative, religious, intellectual and economic centre.

Gaube (2008) explains that the intersection, north of the building of *Jarchi-Bashi* complex, including a mosque, *hammam*, *caravanserai* and palace, is the contact point between the fields of gravity of the old and the new *maidan* in Isfahan.

Additionally Dabashi (2012) expresses that during the Safavid period, *Shia* was thoroughly urbanized and turned into a cosmopolitan project. While *Sunni* Islam was the most dominant in Iran since the Arab conquest and prior to the rise of the Safavid, the Safavid dynasty widely practiced *Shia* Islam and Iranian people became a group of *Shites*, followers of the *Shia* faith (Levy 2009). Babaie (2008) noted an immense building campaign, initiated in 1590-91 at the millennial threshold of the Islamic calendar (1000 A.H.), transformed Isfahan from a provincial, medieval, and largely *Sunni* city into an urban-centred representation of the first *Shia* empire in the history of Islam. Dabashi (2012) also discusses economic prosperity in Isfahan in the Safavid dynasty increased volumes in foreign trade, participation in regional rivalries and a significant increase in urbanization. Babaie (2008) also adds the history of Safavid Isfahan explores the magnificent architectural buildings, urban forms and networks of socio-cultural action that reflected early modern Isfahan.

This situation coincided with, and was partly responsible for, an active European interest and travellers in Isfahan as a land of religious, commercial and strategic opportunity. According to Matthee (2009) the evidence shows 17<sup>th</sup> century western travel accounts to the Muslim world including Iran were simply too diverse in character and motivation. Matthee (2009) argues the authors of these accounts were normally intent on establishing missionary posts, envoys on diplomatic or scientific missions, mercenaries seeking employment, merchants in search of profit or gentleman scholars driven by curiosity. For example Haneda (1996 as cited in Asami et al. 2016) shows Chardin, a French diplomat traveller who visited Iran from 1664-1670, again 1671-77 and late in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, wrote a travel account based on his experience in Isfahan city and his account has been a first class and precious historical source with detailed and vivid descriptions of the city and its features. According to Lambton and Sourdel-Thomine (2007:178) “the 162 mosques, 48 colleges, 1802 caravansaries, 273 baths enumerated at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup>



centuries by that trustworthy traveller and observer, Chardin". They also described the inhabitants of other religions in the city including Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians in Safavid Isfahan. The traveller Baron C.a. De Bode wrote in 1845 about his experience in Isfahan:

*I had to traverse the whole breadth of the town from north to south; first by cut-throat [Sic.] between high-raised walls which enclose the gardens of the suburbs; then by covered bazaars, lit up here and there by some solitary lamp, till I reached the Chahar-Bagh of Shah Abbas, that celebrated alley, bordered by eastern plane-trees, which brought me to the magnificent Stonebridge over Zayenderud. Here I felt more at home, as I had frequently crossed the river over this bridge...(De Bode, 1845:41).*

(Falahat 2013:45)

With the focus on Isfahan in the Safavid period with cultural, social, religious, political and economic significance, it became an important meeting place for traders and European visitors who found the city impressive with spacious buildings, architecture and touristic sites. Urry (2002) suggests that the tourist gaze can essentially be classified in terms of a set of three key dichotomies including romantic/collective, historical/modern, and authentic/inauthentic. Therefore he argues that the romantic form of the tourist gaze emphasizes solitude, privacy and a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze. By contrast the collective tourist gaze encompasses people who just like to visit the sites which are necessary to give them liveliness or a sense of carnival, movement or conviviality. However, there is also much debate and it is controversial whether such sites are 'historical' and 'authentic' or 'modern' and are predominantly 'inauthentic' with gazing upon those sites. The site characterization and tourists gaze in such terms is clearly not straightforward and leads to many difficulties. The travelogues in Safavid Isfahan induce a sense of the authentic through travellers' accounts and tourist experiences. Nevertheless Sultan Hussain, the last of the Safavid rulers from 1694 to 1722 was unable to impose his authority to control the different populations on the borders of Iran and those people reacted by aligning themselves with the Ottomans,

Afghans, or Mongols (Gaube 2008; Jabbari 2003). Additionally Sultan Hussain was a very pious man who followed the advice of the theologians in attempting to convert the Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians of his realm to Islam (Taylor and Walsh 1995).

Finally in 1722, the invasion of the Afghan tribes, who defeated a disorganized Persian army at least twice its size, resulted in the collapse of the Safavid dynasty (Taylor and Walsh 1995). Harat, the westernmost large city of Afghanistan was a succession of ups and downs which never had to share the fate of many Iranian cities like Isfahan, that is to suffer, on the one hand, a partial depopulation or, on the other hand, to be razed to ground never to be inhabited again (Gaube 2008; Taylor and Walsh 1995). Being the last in a struggle for domination that since the second decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century had exhausted the short lived dynasties (see Afshars and Zands dynasty) and numerous other tribal forces on the Iranian periphery no doubt was an advantage to the Qajar dynasty. However, the establishment of the Qajar dynasty (1794-1925) under Aqa Muhammad Khan unified the country and created an enduring equilibrium after nearly half a century of chronic upheaval (Amanat 1997). During the early Qajar era Iran emerged from the political turmoil and economic decline of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century with a relatively stable central government. According to Walcher (2000) research on Qajar art and architecture in Isfahan has been largely guided by an inquest on the former Safavid capital as a centre of politics and culture and normally insists on the Qajar destruction of Safavid buildings and architectural iconography. However, the process of urbanization and building transformation mainly occurred in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Historical studies show that in the post-Islamic age the beginning of changes in the process of urbanization in Iran mainly goes back to the Qajar period. Offices, embassies, new buildings, theatres, movies, shops and hotels were built according to new styles and this resulted in many social-economic and cultural changes (Madani 2015; Walcher 2000). According to George and Scatolini (2015) the rapid urbanization of Iran during the Qajar period also resulted in socio-economic changes and, for example, led to a shift in the culture of education from the traditional system which focused on religious and legal issues, to a localized version of essentialist mode of education.

It would also increase human capital by furnishing the country with trained artisans, teachers, administrators and engineers that it needed (George and Scatolini 2015). Karimi (2014) regrets the neglect of former historical buildings during the Qajar period and the changes in their historic design due to their manipulated facades. Therefore the Qajar dynasty is recognized as a time of significant change and initial action of modernization among traditional Iranian cities as well as Isfahan. Perhaps one of the main influences was the impact of Western technology which accompanied the urbanization, city development and changes in the structure of buildings. Urbanization, its connected programmes and development in the Qajar dynasty were introduced in which broad avenues and apartments blocks altered the character of traditional urban life (Bloom and Blair 2009). Shafaghi (2006) believes that generally after the downfall of the Safavid dynasty and particularly from the Qajar dynasty onwards, the penetration of western culture had a great power to influence Iranian culture and it had a crucial impact on multi-dimensional lifestyle in Iran. The Qajar period was characterized by a growing split between religious and secular authorities, by the emergence of strong secular leadership among the Ulama, and by the emergence of mass opposition movements tinged with religious elements (Caldarola 1982). Amanat (1997) discusses that during the first six decades of Qajar rule, three overlapping themes shaped the Persian state and society. The first of these was the loosening of tribal loyalties and their gradual replacement with traditional patterns of monarchy and bureaucracy; the second was the encounter with European powers and subsequent adjustment to their strategic and economic contingencies; and the third was the state's interaction with the indigenous social and religious forces that sometimes challenged its legitimacy. Accordingly, from the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Iran faced diverse challenges from outside its borders. For instance Zell-e Sultan, was Nasser al-Din Shah eldest son and the governor of Isfahan from 1872 to 1907, had a harmful effect on history of Isfahan and city destruction. According to Martin (2005) the influence of kingship may be discerned in a letter from Naser al-Din Shah to his son Zell-e Sultan, demanding to know why there was a disturbance in Isfahan:

*You, Ulama and people, must know that in the issue of the interests of the subjects, the Shah is kinder than all others, and must seek their well-being, and they should know that if there is a threat to the country and its independence, and to the Shari's, the first to prevent it is the state. Therefore, whatever policy it carries out should be perceived as being for the benefit of people and state, and none should ask why or wherefore.*

(Martin 2005:11)

Walcher (2008) discusses how the city transformation and building destruction affected Isfahan in this period; the loss of its status as the royal capital and its transformation into a major provincial city comparable to, and in competition with, Shiraz, Tabriz or Mashhad. The attempts of a succession of governors to gain control of its political and commercial affairs, culminating with Zell-e-Sultan's three decades of authoritarian rule in the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Restoration of Isfahan status as the country's authoritative centre of *Shia*, highlighted by the direct influence enjoyed by the *Ulama* in urban politics. In the final years of the decadent Qajar dynasty Reza Khan; the Russian-trained leader of a Cossack brigade, emerged as the strong man during a bloodless coup in February 1921 (Lewis 1982). Reza Khan used the army to restore the authority of the central government in all parts of the country. Finally in December 1925, Reza Khan proclaimed himself Reza Shah Pahlavi, the king of Iran under the Pahlavi dynasty. At the same time, Reza Shah, who did not rely on the traditional sources of political legitimacy, religion and tribe promoted secular ideas, reviving and generating a pre-Islamic collective memory (Grigor 2004) and stressed anti-clericalism. "The founding of the Pahlavi dynasty in 1925 was a landmark event in Iran's modern history and it heralded the end of the period of efforts at synthesis between the imperatives of modernization and the demands of tradition, whether out of conviction or for the sake of expediency, and it ushered in a period of conscious embrace of modernization, interpreted as Europeanization" (Hunter 2014:37). After World War II and in the reign of Reza Shah the changes in urbanization mostly shaped the main foundation of modern Iran in the process of modernization. Ziari (2006) shows how in the first Pahlavi

period, partial modernization was present but also changes in economic, social and cultural ways, not only in the capital, Tehran, but also in the other traditional cities of Iran as well as in Isfahan. Isfahan significantly changed in the Pahlavi period and foreign architects and planners were used to help with the city design and changes. As part of Reza Shah's modernization programme and urbanization, Iranian cities including Isfahan, went under major economic, social, cultural and political transformations that had significant impacts on people's way of life. They included the advent of new building, offices, ministries, embassies, new urban laws, changing streets, etc. Unlike the urban principles of colonial rule in British India or in French Morocco, urban reforms by Reza Shah were inspired by a combination of Haussmann and Atatürk (Mazumdar 2000). Reza Shah followed the path of a close and intimate amalgamation of traditional and modern urban forms (Ehlers and Floor 1993). Mohammad Reza Shah, Reza Shah's son ruled from 1941 to the Islamic revolution in 1979, he also continued to focus on the modernization and westernization of the country. Mohammad Reza Shah planned to establish Iran as a major world power through a succession of Western-style modernization efforts (Zathureczky 2010). Consequently the process of Iran's modernism during the Pahlavi period resulted in rapid urbanization and cultural-economic changes ushered in by the appearance of new urban social classes as well as Isfahan (Hensel and Gharleghi 2012). Thus the multi-dimensional changes in the Pahlavi dynasty generated a discourse of tradition versus modernity and became a challenge for the maintenance of some historic buildings. However, in 1979 Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi fled Iran as protests against his rule grew and soon a revolution led by exiled religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini overthrew the Shah's government that transformed Iran into a theocratic state till now (Middleton 2015). Politically and socially, the 1979 revolution was a turning point and led to the establishment of the Islamic Republic. The Islamic Revolution and the Iraq-Iran war (1981-1989) greatly influenced and accelerated the process of internal migration and urbanization of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century of Iran (Faghri 2007). Arjomand (2009:123) said "revolution and war produce social dislocation and mobilization and in the first years of the Islamic revolution (1979-1982), there was an explosive geographic expansion of cities that

followed the extensive land seizure by squatters and the so-called 'revolutionary housing' ". After the Islamic revolution, urban authorities focused on the development of the urban services, public network transportation and beautification at the urban level and the implementation of the urban authorities and policies commenced with Isfahan and then Tehran and other cities (Maghsoodi Tilaki et al. 2013). After the war, Iran attempted to recover in a period called the reconstruction period and the government prepared the socio-economic development plan and focused on infrastructure power. Consequently Isfahan city underwent a process of major urbanization during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century. The decade of the 1990s witnessed some major changes in the Iranian political, economic, administrative structures, new urban planning and city development especially among ancient and traditional cities such as Isfahan.

Obviously throughout Hashemi-Rafsanjani's<sup>7</sup> two-term presidency of Iran (1989 to 1997), the country experienced again the major fast growing urbanization in particular. (Farazmand 2009). The historic centres of the larger and traditional cities of Iran like Isfahan went through significant transformations in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Today the Islamic monuments of Isfahan constitute one of the most significant and complete architectural complexes preserved at the heart of a modern city, which recently owes them much of its prestige and values (Lambton and Sourdel-Thomine 2007).

### 3.6 Summary

This chapter presents the main features and perspectives of Islamic cities in order to highlight Isfahan's Islamic buildings such as *hammams*, *bazaars* etc. According to the purposes of this research, the study area of this thesis considers the Islamic city of

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<sup>7</sup> Hashemi-Rafsanjani was also a founding member of the Islamic Republic Party (IPR) and a member of the Revolutionary Council, which assumed actual political control upon the collapse of the Pahlavi dynasty. Additionally, he also served the Islamic Republic as the provisional Friday prayer leader of Tehran, deputy minister of interior in the provisional government of Mehdi Bazargan, deputy secretary-general of the IRP, and representative of Ayatollah Khomeini on the Supreme Defense Council (Lorentz 2010).

Isfahan under the influence of the ancient and pre-Islamic period and especially analyzes the current condition of historical *hammams* in the modern day city. The nature of Islamic cities at any point in time were shaped under different circumstances but the Islamic cities often achieved community, privacy, beauty and a variety of communal buildings and artwork. Islamic art, characteristics and architecture mainly associated with the communal buildings (see *bazaar*, *hammam*, mosque etc.) and the communal buildings normally allocated by essential authorities, influences and uses in Islamic cities. *Waqf*, the endowment in Islamic law has been playing an essential role in the construction of communal buildings, Islamic activities and the maintenance of the buildings in Islamic cities. With the focus on the Islamic country of Iran, the ancient history (see before and after the advent of Islam) and the contemporary history (see before and after Islamic revolution, 1979) had a great influence on the development of Isfahan. Certainly each historical period can show the major themes of the religious, socio-cultural, economic and political perspective of Isfahan, its development and how it has obviously been affected by the level of modernization and urbanization. The history of Isfahan shows important elements for analyzing the current challenges associated with the contemporary heritage and tourism development in the contemporary city. So the history or past endeavours can throw light on heritage revival and provide key insights into heritage, tourism development and the evolution of the current strategies. The development of Isfahan encompassed a wide range of approaches with insights into heritage and provided a variety perspectives for the recent or even future of heritage as well as historical *hammams* and their connection with tourism development in the city. So the main challenges associated with the historical development of Isfahan are a significant tool for analyzing the historical *hammams* in the city in Chapter 6.

## ***Chapter 4***

### ***Tourism, Heritage and Health: Iran***





## 4.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by examining the theoretical intersection of tourism and its attachment to place, as tourism involves the movement of people and their temporary stay in places away from their normal place of residence. The chapter focuses on the images and attitudes towards the Orient among European travellers. It also brings some examples, while highlighting the Orient and the importance of saving cultural heritage (e.g. *hammams*), which was initially shaped in the imagination and gaze of the Western tourist. This chapter also analyzes the relationship between heritage and tourism determined by tourist experience. This work emphasizes several approaches for heritage revival and their connection to tourism development and attempts to advance knowledge for analyzing of historical *hammams* in Isfahan particularly in three case studies contained in a later chapter (see Chapter 6). So the chapter develops the physical and emotional connection of tourism with heritage mainly in Iran as well as Isfahan, looking in particular at the context of *hammams*.

Moreover, this work defines spa, wellness and health tourism and largely analyses visiting hot springs in Iran and understanding their connection to health tourism in the country. This chapter also attempts to introduce the state and situation of the contemporary tourism industry in Iran that is normally associated with the political, cultural and religious attitude and their situation in the country.

## 4.2 Tourism and Attachment

Some tourism studies emphasize the understanding of physical, emotional and symbolic subjective meanings associated with places and also the connection of people, tourists and residents, to the places. According to Seabra et al. (2012) tourism studies have experienced significant advances through the intersection of theories developed in several disciplines such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, geography, and marketing, among others. They also argue that this interconnection is visible in two concepts that have received increasing attention

from researchers as they measure how residence and tourists relate to tourism products and with the destinations visited. It is essential for recreation resource managers and policy makers to understand the subjective, emotional and symbolic meanings associated with places and the personal bonds of people with places (Kaplan and Kaplan 1989). However, the attachment to place has been measured differently across the studies that have looked at its relationship to attitudes towards tourism. The notion of place attachment has been evidenced as being impactful on enhancing the performance of tourism marketing: “Basically, the experiential marketing paradigm gears marketing strategies towards pursuing emotional and psychological bonds, cultivated through the functional and emotional values of brand attributes, the gratifying experience in brand contacts as well as the personal relevancy gleaned from brand meaning” (Tsai 2012:139). Place attachment represents the effective and constructive linkage between tourist and specific places particularly among traditional and historical places. Accordingly, tourists may develop an attachment to a destination because of its ability to fulfil specific goals or activity needs and/or because of its symbolic meaning and thus, attachment could be an important measure of tourist satisfaction. As place attachment refers to the involvement of tourists with places, Kassarian(1981) explains consumers’ involvement influences their buying decision, so it is a well-known variable to conduct effective market segmentation. The use of place attachment and involvement has occurred recently in leisure studies, and in the context of recreation and the tourist industry (Gross and Brown 2008). Some researchers study the involvement and place attachment as separate constructs (see Kerstetter, Confer, and Graefe 2001; Kyle and Chick 2002; Moore and Scott 2003; Scott and Shafer 2001). However, Relph (1976) and Tuan (1977) both argue that the creation of an attachment to a place requires an enduring connection and prolonged involvement with that same place. According to Seabra et al. (2012) involvement from marketing reflects the perceived importance and/or personal interest that consumers link to the purchase, consumption of goods, services or ideas as place attachment from environmental psychology and geography represents the effective linkage between people and specific places. There are differences among individuals

which, depending on the products or the situation, make some consumers more interested, concerned or involved in the purchase decisions (Seabra et al. 2012). Mowen et al. (1998:64) noted, "Involvement was developed in consumer behaviour and can be defined as: the perceived personal importance and/or interest consumers attach to the acquisition, consumption, and disposition of a goods, services, or an idea". Funk et al. (2004) explain that when involvement is applied to leisure research, it has often consisted of three dimensions: the first is attraction, conceived as the perceived importance of an activity or product and pleasure derived from participation or use; the second is self-expression, the degree to which participants express their self-concept or individually through the situation or object or study; the third is centrality to lifestyle, the extent to which participants' social networks revolve around an activity, and whether participants lifestyles are meaningfully impacted by their participation (see also Havitz, Dimanche, and Bogle 1994). Tsai (2012) also argues when turning into a representation of place attachment, the tourism destination may induce a strong sense of security, trust, confidence, attractiveness, cheerfulness and identification in the tourist. According to Gross et al. (2008) in the tourism context the value of combining involvement and place attachment can be quite useful to examine the degree to which involvement in tourism may be influenced by the places where the experiences are gained. It means that place attachment does not always directly result from the leisure activity involvement, but rather from the visitor's experience after visiting the place (Wu et al. 2010). Pine and Gilmore (1999:99) define that, "experiences are inherently personal, existing only in the mind of an individual who has been engaged on an emotional, physical, intellectual, or even spiritual level".

Additionally, Zhang et al. (2013) believed that place attachment may be a significant factor affecting residents' intention to participate in tourism development. Some studies like Sheldon and Var (1984) use length of residency as an attachment measure and found that lifelong residents were more sensitive to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism than short-term ones. Some researches reveal that long-term residence increases attachment feelings, partly through familiarity and

accumulation of significant events over time, but possibly even more importantly, through social ties (Brown and Perkins 1992; Taylor, Gottfredson, and Brower 1984). Resident reactions in the context of tourism development are closely linked to direct religious, social-cultural, economic impacts and employment from tourism. Lankford and Haward (1994) show that residents who are employed in the tourism industry have a more favourable reaction to tourism. On the other hand those with more exposure to, and experience of tourism in the context of social and religious life gain less favourable attitudes toward its improvement. However, and according to MacCannell (1976) tourists are fundamentally in search of authenticity in other places and cultures, which are rarely found and experienced in our modern world. For McCabe (2015:19) "Tourism and tourist's experiences have been transformed by the global processes of modernity into such a huge variety of forms that meanings are difficult to disentangle". So tourists and their attachment to places are linked to the meanings created around cultural, religious issues, history, emotional and recreational settings over time. This issue also brings questions of how a place interacts with senses of cultural identity in the contemporary world, what are the roles of related stakeholders in creating a sense of place for tourists, and how and why all these variables change over time. According to Yeoh et al. (1997) the invisible movement of time is sometimes indexed by changes which have taken place in the places and people are active participants in the historically contingent process of the making of place: within the context of their times they construct places by investing them with human meaning.

Some studies show how travellers represent their effective bond to the places and emphasis upon the varied meanings given to the place by their involvement in the past. For example, throughout history, numerous travellers, especially European ambassador or tradespeople, started to discover the Orient. According to Mitchell (1991) the 19<sup>th</sup> Century image of the Orient was constructed not just in oriental studies, romantic novels, and colonial administrations, but in all the new procedures with which Europeans began to organize the representation of the world, from museums and world exhibitions to architecture, schooling, tourism, the fashion

industry, and the commodification of everyday life. “The orient was seen as an exotic, erotic, frightening place, and also as an inferior, unprogressive place, forever trapped in time, simultaneously attractive and repulsive” (Laisram 2014:1). According to Haldrup et al. (2009) both contemporary and historical studies of tourism and leisure have pointed out how images of the exotic and seductive Orient continually fuel the imagination of the tourist as well as the marketing material of the global tourist industry applying the orientalist mode of representation. However, Edward Said (1978) in his critical study of orientalism, shows the cultural representations in the east, the west’s patronizing perceptions and their travel motivation and fictional depictions of “the east”, the societies, culture, religious and peoples who inhabit the places of Asia, North Africa, Islamic countries and the Middle East. According to Edward Said (1978) travellers played a significant role in the construction of the idea of the Orient and actually the western travellers created the Orient. Hall (2000:48) notes, “The depiction of the orient involved the self-discovery of the writer or artist as well as voyages of discovery to the orient, and the construction of this orient through fiction, art, and scholarship involved also the construction of identities and careers of those who produced such work”. Laisram (2014) argues the studies by four popular and influential 19<sup>th</sup> Century writers, including British travel writers - James Morier, Alexander Kinglake, Richard Burton, and Gertrude Bell - reveal that while they echoed the traditional, culturally defined view of the Islamic Orient, the space they occupied as travellers enabled them to imaginatively step out of their culture and to question its assumptions about the Orient. It is through travellers’ interaction with historical places that they have the chance to create experiences, physically establishing connection between places and between the past and today. Travellers become more ‘intercultural’ and their interaction allows them to better see ‘the substance of historical places’. The understanding experience dimensions of tourists could contribute towards more practical approaches to promote heritage via some tourism programmes as well as heritage revival and its connection to the tourist industry. The connection between heritage and tourism varies from country to country and depends mostly on multi-dimensional issues such as the current heritage condition, their supervision, urban

planning, social-cultural transition and other factors. The next section discusses the connection between heritage and tourism and emphasizes the different approaches for heritage revival that can be associated by analyzing the cases of *hammams* in Isfahan in following chapters (see Chapter 6).

### *4.3 Heritage and Tourism: Three Approaches*

The word heritage in its broader meaning is generally associated with world inheritance; that is, something transformed from one generation to another (Nuryanti 1996). “The concept of heritage has developed from a concern for the preservation of the chance surviving relics from the past, but the process of this evolution has led to some important changes in its orientation” (Ashworth 2013:15). Heritage, and the formally staged experience of encountering the physical traces of the past in the present, has become an all-pervasive aspect of contemporary life, a series of components that act as building blocks for the design of contemporary urban and suburban spaces (Harrison 2013). “The term heritage revival carries the connection of something man-made: a construction from elements of the past” (Egberts 2014:17). According to Ashworth (2013) heritage is not only located in a specific place but, the place frequently is the product and often it is the place as a whole that is marketed in pursuit of either the economic or political identity objectives. He believes that apart from the general dilemmas intrinsic to all product development, heritage as it is marketed is typically place-bound. However a nation's heritage is one of the most potent forces for generating tourism (Boniface and Fowler 1993). Heritage has a pivotal role to play in the tourist experience of a heritage place (Staiff, Bushell, and Watson 2013). All tourism involves the consumption of experience and product; and of course globalization produces further shifts in the production and consumption of tourism sites and heritage (Urry 2002). According to Nuryanti (1996) new forms of reproduction of the past and associated consumption patterns are reflected in the ways that people choose to travel; however the central challenge in linking heritage and tourism lies in reconstruction of the past in the present through interpretation. Typically the

connection between heritage and tourism relies on built elements of culture or traditions and mostly refers to resources built in the past, their management and tourism development. Moreover, McKercher et al. (2012) argue that heritage management involves more than just the conservation of tangible assets, it also includes intangible heritage or traditions which are embodied in such things as folklore, storytelling, customs or they are associated with other expressions of cultural traditions. Ashworth et al. (2007) claim that the symbolic worth of tangible heritage is closely linked to its intangible heritage. Memory, cultural knowledge and performance are embedded in tangible heritage while the value of tangible heritage derives from its cultural and symbolic significance (Park 2013). Obviously, intangible heritage is increasingly recognized as a profitable aid to tourism. Then both tangible and intangible heritage assets form the basis for a variety of tourist products, tourism involvement and their experiences within the context of the contemporary tourism industry. Tourism, namely an activity; heritage, a set of resources, and city, a setting, are interrelated, make a triangle and overlap each other (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000). Over the course of conducting several case studies in this research (see historical *hammams* in Isfahan in Chapters 5 and 6), I focus on three approaches for heritage revival and their connection to tourism development. The approaches are discussed as follows and attempt to set the stage for analyzing the physical, intellectual, or emotional association of tourism for the main case studies in this thesis (see Chapter 6).

### 4.3.1 Ruins

In most countries, ruins were the catalyst for conservation measures, as in Britain, where the highest protection within conservation legislation is afforded (Stanford 2000). Britain has a rich heritage of ruined monuments and a long tradition of caring and managing them (see Ashby Castle, Stonehenge, Abbey and etc.). Stanford (2000:35) notes: “traditionally, historic conservationists have focused single-mindedly on the conservation of the built structure, whether inhabited or ruinous”. According to Ashurst (2007) some ruins form a considerable part of our



architectural heritage and, actually they are preserved as ruins, maintained as ruins and visited by a growing number of people who, in ruins, see values, significance and meaning – in spite of their condition. Edensor (2005:4) believes that “ruins are left to linger and decay for decades, turning into heaps of rubble over the years, whilst others stay for a while until the first signs of decay take hold and then are demolished, and some are eradicated shortly after abandonment”. Many have written about ruins from a ‘romantic’ viewpoint, as Macauley (1953:1): “Since to be fascinated by ruins has always been a human tendency, it is of some interest to try and trace the development of its expression in literature and art”. Aston (2012) also argues ruins prompted a passionate urge to preserve, as well as to straighten out, the sequence of history. According to Hell and Schonle (2009) ruins may signify the end of the old, or the beginning of something new. Some other scholars have also viewed ruins as monuments or old buildings that are worthy because of their age, past significant and the history that they bring to mind (Hetzler 1988); and still others have viewed them as objects of contemplation; especially in the case of religious monuments (Straughn 2012). Macaulay (1953:39) expresses, “Politics, passion and religion have played their parts in ruin building”. Furthermore Aygen (2013:92) argues, “Modernization is as closely related to politics as it is to historic preservation”. Today some countries like Iran have a large number of ruined monuments and ruined heritage sites without any proper conservation plan. In some cases the lack of planning for conservation and management results in very critical situations. There are those who argue that conserving a ruin is an expensive, time-consuming and even unnecessary work in Iran and believe that conserving ruins requires special knowledge, skills and several materials. Particularly in Iran, the historical age, special features, location, amount of debris, ownership, political, social-cultural and religious issues affect the way stakeholders prioritize the ruined sites or monuments for conservation. Despite the large number of ruined heritage sites in the country, there are few examples of ruin conservation of old Iranian cities due to their national and international value (see for example Persepolis<sup>8</sup> in Shiraz

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<sup>8</sup> Persepolis (Old Persian: Pārśa, New Persian: Takht-e Jamshid or Pārsēh), literally meaning ‘city of Persians’ was the

or the Burnt City<sup>9</sup> in Zabol). In addition, in a few cases, unique historical monuments also affect the surroundings of the ruined area, which are also preserved as heritage sites, and are open for tourist visits (see Cyrus's tomb in Pasargad<sup>10</sup> in Shiraz). In Isfahan city, there are also a few cases of ruin conservation from the pre-Islamic period (see Ashraf hill<sup>11</sup>, fire temple of Isfahan<sup>12</sup>). The conservation of many ruined monuments or heritage sites that were built after the Islamic period in Isfahan or also in the Safavid era onwards is overlooked with no conservation plan. Because of that in many cases, the value of those buildings, such as many *hammams* are forgotten, vanished or changed entirely to other purposes. Focusing on registered and historical ruins *hammams* in Isfahan city, including Khosrow Agha, Dehnou, Roghani and Sheikh Al Islam (see Chapter 5), the key question is how specific decisions, plans, goals and priorities should be carried out based on the cases from a different historical age, ownership, domain and features. Because of that Chapter 6 attempts to analyze Khosrow Agha *hammam*, one of the impressive national monuments in the history of Isfahan, which today is a ruin in the tourist part of the city.

### 4.3.2 Readjusted Uses

The tourism economy of some places is based entirely on cultural heritage and historical buildings (Timothy 2011). However, in some cases it is not possible to repair the heritage damage, preserve all the historical values and maintain previous heritage functionality. Thus demands of functionality might be adapted and defining

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ceremonial capital of the Achaemenid Empire (ca. 550–330 BCE). It is situated 70 km northeast of city of Shiraz in the Fars Province in Iran.

<sup>9</sup> The Burnt City, Shahr-e Sūkhté is an archaeological site of a sizeable Bronze Age urban settlement. It is located in the Sistan and Baluchistan Province in Iran.

<sup>10</sup> Pasargadae, capital of the Achaemenid Empire built by Cyrus the Great (559–530 BC) and also the location of his tomb, was a city in ancient Iran, located near the city of Shiraz.

<sup>11</sup> Ashraf hill or Sarouyeh was a large library in ancient pre-Islamic Iran and was located in Isfahan city. It was demolished by the Arab invasion of Iran (3rd century AH: 816 AD - 913 AD). The heritage site remained unknown for a long period of time and it has been under conservation since 2011.

<sup>12</sup> The Fire Temple of Isfahan is a Sassanid-era archaeological complex located on a hill of the same name about eight kilometers west of city centre.

the adaptive re-use should be carried out in an appropriate way; consequently in some cases the need for management of the flow of visitors has become more prominent. These issues become even more complex in a multi-cultural context. Orbasli (2002) believes that tourism potentially brings vitality, economic and cultural dynamics to a place and benefits of appreciation, preservation and conservation to heritage. In addition to this, cultural heritage management (CHM) and tourism often have an awkward relationship (McKercher, Ho, and du Cros 2005). The approach of heritage organizations is to protect and preserve, while tourism has the overriding aim of becoming a profitable business (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher 2005). Normally cultural heritage sectors argue that cultural values are compromised for commercial gain (Urry 1991), while tourism proponents feel that tourism values are compromised when a management attitude exists that any 'touristification'<sup>13</sup> has a corrupting influence (Fyall and Garrod 1996; Hovinen 1995). In some countries cultural heritage and tourism are separate sectors, which perform different tasks and assignments. The heritage sector is responsible for the conservation of heritage assets, while tourism assumes the product development and commercial role for the tourism industry. However Ennen and Maanen (2013) believe that as the number of visitors to many historical sites is increasing, a dilemma that can occur in the urban development process by planners is to ensure a balance of interests. They mention the problems can occur when the triangular balance between the destination, its related stakeholders and visitors is disturbed because the development initiatives are not in the interests of all parties involved. Today in Iran tourism, heritage and handicraft sectors work under the single authority of ICHHTO. Thereby ICHHTO bears a vast responsibility for the vitality of those three sectors and faces how to properly manage them simultaneously. Today, according to the large number of heritage sites, lack of financial budget and the enforcement of insufficient responsibilities in ICHHTO, some other stakeholders such as the Isfahan municipality, individual investors and the Ministry of Roads and

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<sup>13</sup> Picard (1990) refers to Touristification when tourism is so pervasive that it has become an integral part of everyday life (as cited in Xie and Wall 2008:135).

Urban Development have been involved in these sectors. Thus in some cases conflict also occurs when several parts follow their interests for agency of heritage conservation and achieving various types of functions for conserved heritage in the contemporary city. Conflict, or the potential for conflict is more likely to occur when the power balance between stakeholders shifts, empowering one and disempowering the other (McKercher et al. 2005). Often it is a stakeholder who does not see their interests reflected in these policies, planning and decision process. With the focus on Dardasht *hammam* as a case study in this research, achieving the transition from an original usage to a desired one and the management of the renewed *hammam* by different stakeholders are the main issues in the current situation. The *hammam* is one of the few historical *hammams* in Isfahan city that has recently been conserved and is involved in a process of trying to find a more suitable function in the contemporary city. The conservation process was not carried out for the original *hammam*'s function and it must take other roles and positions. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

### 4.3.3 *Continuing their Original Function*

Despite physical changes, many heritage sites continue to perform the original function for which they were created and used in the past. "Change in both tangible and intangible heritage expressions are inevitable phenomena that should be recognized and respected" (Logan and Wijesuriya 2015:560). For instance there are several examples of functioning *hammams* from Turkey to Morocco and Tunisia that highlight the significance of original *hammams* to fascinate domestic and international tourists (Cichocki 2005; Kagermeier 2000; Sibley 2013). According to Kilito et al. (1992), and as discussed in Chapter 2, *hammams* are not only specific types of buildings with distinctive architectural features, relying on the use of abundant amounts of water, but also critical sites for hygiene and health care, and more importantly here, places for social-cultural relationships and performances. *Hammams* are key sites of traditional practices in a public place, 'sweating, scrubbing, washing styles and socializing' despite not having an intrinsic historical

value (Sarmiento and Kazemi 2014). However, for example there are some historical *hammams* in Istanbul (Cemberlitas, Cağaloğlu, Süleymaniye *hammam* etc.), which are still working in the traditional way and retain enough authentic features to make visitors feel it is like the original *hammams* in the past and impress international visitors in a historical building. The Lonely Planet guide book (Maxwell 2015) listed Istanbul's 'Top 10' experiences; and the last one was 'Visiting a *hammam*'<sup>14</sup> and Turkish bath experience, particularly in historical *hammams* (see Çemberlitaş<sup>15</sup> and Cağaloğlu<sup>16</sup> *Hammam*) or in a large number of spas or hotels in the city (see Sirkeci Mansion, Arcadia Blue Hotel, Four Seasons Istanbul, Sumahan on the water and Vault Karakoy). Cichocki (2005) argues that tourism plays a significant role in the history of the *hammams* in Istanbul and with a decreasing numbers of Turkish visitors, the larger *hammams* are now almost entirely dependent on foreign visitors' money. Cichocki (2005:106) also notes in Istanbul "many *hammam* employees claim that without the tourist interest, bathing culture in Istanbul would have died out in the twentieth century".

The next example I want to use comes from Morocco, and particularly from the city of Fez. While many heritage *hammams* in historic cities and medinas are in a very bad state of repair, and often they are closed down, some *hammams* are rebuilt and are developing an extremely varied programme in order to attract a new clientele and tourism has turned the *hammams* into a service aimed at foreign visitors (Tagemouati 2012). Ray and Anderson (2000) explain how people have departed from traditional and modern cultures to contrive new ways of life. Furthermore Lea (2006) believes that foreign visitors act as a catalyst towards the assimilation of traditional custom by western culture in many third world societies. He also added

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<sup>14</sup> 'Visiting a *hammam*' was described, as "In life, there aren't too many opportunities to wander semi-naked through a 16<sup>th</sup> Century Ottoman monument. Unless you visit Istanbul, that is. The city's world-famous *hamamms* (Turkish baths) offer a unique opportunity to immerse yourself in history, architecture, warm water and soapsuds – all at the same time. A *hammam* treatment offers a relaxing finale to a day spent pounding the city's pavements, and gives a fascinating insight into the life and customs of Ottoman society. You can surrender to the steam at baths on both sides of the Galata Bridge"(Maxwell 2015:56–57).

<sup>15</sup> The most beautiful of the Ottoman *hammam* (Maxwell 2015:230).

<sup>16</sup> An architecturally splendid Ottoman *hammams* (Maxwell 2015:230).

some of the expectations to this generalization are those countries under Islamic religious influence. In Iran not much attention has been paid to developing functioning *hammams* within the tourist industry. Of course, some *hammams* - either listed on the ICHHTO heritage register or not - continue to have an important function for local inhabitants, both from a social as well as from the pious perspective, especially in the more traditional regions of the country. While visiting *hammams* in Isfahan from 2010 to 2015, I noticed most of them are poorly maintained buildings. Some are associated with the daily life of low budget tourists, neighbouring residents or foreign workers who cannot bathe elsewhere. There are only a few *hammams* in Isfahan which are completely developed to attract tourists and support efficient marketing even for international tourists.

In Isfahan city, the conservation of *hammams* with historical value was normally carried out to maintain and sustain the structural element of the building and there was no transition to its original function. Obviously in some cases the adaptation of the building would be problematic or even impossible due to heritage conservation rules, preserving historical structures or rehabilitation of old building services. Actually *hammam* conservation in the city (see Ali Gholi Agha *hammam*, Dardasht *hammam* and Rehnan *hammam*) was carried out either by securing the architectural elements or upholding the physical historical value. The few *hammams* with historical value still functioning are poorly maintained buildings with inadequate services. Today they also struggle to be economically viable and have only a few users per day. They do not follow any conservation plan or service promotion to provide adequate levels of cleanliness and contemporary standards of health and safety, at least on the residential quarter scale (see Haj Banan *hammam* and Haj Kazem *hammam* in Chapter 5). However, Chapter 6 studies Ghazi *hammam*, located in the historical part of Isfahan, with its own value in the Shahshahan quarter. The *hammam* is supposed to be used as its original function in a modern adaptation service and tourist facilities in the future. Nonetheless, the connection between health, wellness, spa activities and tourism can be defined in various ways in different places and different countries. Accordingly, the next section of this chapter

is devoted to a detailed definition of spa, health and wellness tourism in a general way and especially in Iran, as well as discussing visiting hot springs in the country.

## *4.4 Health Tourism: Wellness, Medical & Spa Tourism*

Chapter 2 analysed various forms of traditional baths. This section provides several definitions of 'health tourism', which largely include wellness, medical and spa tourism in order to support the idea of health tourism among *hammams*, particularly in hot springs in contemporary Isfahan. Indeed, the tourism industry usually comprises several sectors with diversified characteristics in Iran as well as Isfahan. In general tourism plays a vital role in contributing to people's wellbeing (Aho 2001) as it breaks the monotony of daily work and provides space to recreate and re-vitalize. According to Peris-Ortiz and Alvarez-Garcia (2014) health tourism is probably one of the fastest growing forms of tourism, which is a rather multi-faceted industry since it has several segments. In recent years health, wellness and medical tourism have grown exponentially and this includes visits to spas, thermal springs, spa and wellness hotels, hospitals or medical aspects and spiritual or holistic retreats (Smith and Puczkó 2014). The more frequently descriptors used were "improved health on holiday has become the central theme of tourism in an active rather than a passive sense" (Connell 2006:1094). Erfurt-Cooper and Cooper (2009:6) define as: "any kind of travel to make yourself or a member of your family healthier". Ross also refers to the concept of health tourism as ancient as pre-history and as up to date as tomorrow, reinforcing the fact what we do not know exactly when health tourism first started because of the absence of written records and documents. Hall (1992 as cited in Smith and Puczko 2009:4) also refers to Van Speilen who defined health tourism as "...staying away from home, health as the most important motive, and done in a leisure setting". Van Spielen also formulated five components, each identifying a more specific market segment, that is (as cited in Smith and Puczko 2009:4):

- “Sun and fun activities
- Engaging in health activities, but health is not the central motive (Adventure and sports, Tourism activities such as hiking, cycling, or golf)
- Principle motive for travel is health (e.g. sea cruise or travel to a different climate)
- Travel for sauna, massage, and other health activities (Spa resort)
- Medical treatment”.

Smith and Puczko (2009) explain how the most common resources for health tourism have traditionally been mineral waters and climate; yet increasingly, health tourism includes not only physical but also mental and psychological treatment. Mueller and Kaufmann’s (2001:5) definition of health tourism is “the sum of all the relationships and phenomena resulting from a change in location and residence by people in order to promote, stabilize and, as appropriate, restore physical, mental and social well-being while using health services and for whom the place where they are staying is neither their principle nor permanent place of residence or work”. Spa tourism is arguably the best-known form of health tourism and it should be noted that the Spa industry has not traditionally considered itself to be part of tourism (Smith and Puczkó 2014). Spas are increasingly taking on the role of ‘health centres’ or health resorts, where a concern with physical wellbeing is complemented by a reconsideration of mental welfare (Kaspar 1990:299), restoring health in all its facets. This notion of the curative benefits of a spa can be traced back to early Greek and Roman periods, and in later times to the fashion for ‘taking the waters’ in Europe in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries (Laing and Weiler 2008). The word spa is not an acronym but an eponym, that is a name turned into a word. Spa is not an abbreviation, which comes from the Latin phrase, *Sanitas Per Aquam*, “health through water”, or some other more or less grammatical and/or mis-spelt variation; sometimes stated that the Romans wrote spa on the walls of their baths. According to Henry and Taylor (2005) historically, thermal spas are the most authentic spa experience as they are based on the basic definition of spa: *Salus per aqua*, a Latin phrase for “health through water”. “In the Middle East tradition Pharaoh Cleopatra



is said to have established one of the world's first spa resorts on the shores of the Dead sea in about 25 BC (Svart, 2006), and the Romans of course left behind a long list of bathing facilities (bathhouses, *thermae*) that they built between 54 BC and 450 AD while that were occupying large parts of what has become Europe, the Middle East and North Africa" (Erfurt-Cooper and Cooper 2009:26). From ancient Japanese to urban European baths, thermal spas are public spaces where guests can experience the healing powers of calming water (Henry and Taylor 2005). Murphy (2009:19) shows "The town of Spa, nestled on the edge of the Ardennes region of Wallonia, Belgium is the origin of the current term 'Spa', which signifies a health resort associated with a mineral water spring". Reisman (2010) explains the ancient Greeks went to Epidauria because of health. Also the ancient Romans went to thermal baths because warm water was believed to be good for the joints. Erfurt-Cooper and Cooper (2009:2) also confirm "the origin of the term spa that describes such facilities is usually linked to the town spa in Belgium, where from the 17<sup>th</sup> Century AD local hot mineral springs have been frequented for their therapeutic benefits and which has subsequently developed into a health resort". They also mention in Japan, where the main attraction is the traditional *onsen* (hot spring bathing facilities), the wellness tradition revolves around the use of hot springs by people who enjoy sharing a bath or as families and other groups of users. The International Spa Association, ISPA (2013:1) defines spas as "places devoted to overall well-being through a variety of professional services that encourage the renewal of mind, body and spirit". Cohen (2008) focuses on some examples such as springs, hot springs, saunas and steam rooms which emphasise healing recovery and physical rest in terms of spa and wellness tourism. Spa and wellness tourism is a more familiar and well-established concept within the health tourism phenomenon (Laing and Weiler 2008). Spa tourism is recognized as the most renowned form of wellness tourism and the term is often interchangeable with wellness tourism; "the spa industry has not traditionally considered itself to be part of tourism (except perhaps some destinations and resort spas and hotels)" (Smith and Puczkó 2014:10). Spa tourism is one of the oldest types of tourism, developed since the age of antiquity, which evolved continuously and developed complex and

various forms throughout different historical periods under the influence of political and economic systems, on the one hand, and of changes in the social options and tourists' interests regarding this type of tourism, on the other (Erdeli et al. 2011). Smith and Kelly (2006) describe spa as focusing on the relaxation or healing of the body using water-based treatments, such as pools, steam rooms and saunas. They argue that the emphasis tends to be focused on relaxation, health and beauty treatments rather than the spiritual aspects of certain exercises. Accordingly Hall (2003) defines spa tourism as a component of health tourism that relates to the provision of specific health facilities and destinations, which traditionally include the provision of mineral waters, which may also be used to refer to tourist resorts that integrate health facilities with accommodation. Clearly the inclusion of the term 'water' in these definitions makes it appear that water is the main element used in spa treatments and therapies. The theme of many types of spa tourism is water-based healing, with an emphasis on relaxation and cures. According to Panchal (2013) water and its natural sources, such as mineral hot springs, are also recognized to have therapeutic effects in Asia. Especially several parts of Asia have been well placed to benefit from the growth of Spa tourism, for several reasons (see Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and others). According to Connell (2011) Asia provides a background and context where natural and cultural landscapes are also colourful and exotic. He also mentions Spa tourism is linked to the idea that natural treatments and therapies are ecologically sensitive, using local ingredients and such natural and created advantages have led to the active marketing of spa tourism in Asia, perhaps to a greater extent than anywhere outside the European heartland. Asia is well placed to capitalize on these markets based on its natural and human resource assets including its hospitable culture (Laing and Weiler 2008:387). Many Asian spa practices are not just reliant on health and water activities and, as Chapman (2013) argues, the Asian spa phenomenon is more than just a massage or a scrub and importantly, the daily rituals and ceremonies are all part of Asians' way of life which are designed to restore the body and soul. "It can be observed that much of Asia's age-old traditions which have been a way of life for many generations are now being shared with the rest of the world through their practice, not only in

Asian spas, but also in Western societies' spas" (Spa Wellness Council 2008 as cited in Filep and Pearce 2013:75). Therefore the main market for spa tourism remains the western tourist who is known to nature and to 'Eastern' practices that are perceived to "offer an intact world with authentic, original, genuine and deep encounters" (Joachim Fuchs 2003:382) and associated with different traditional activities, exotic and colourful religions (Connell 2011). Each country in Asia has its own spa heritage to offer and it can be said that some Asian countries share their wealth of traditions and ancient practices at least with each other, if not the world (Filep and Pearce 2013). According to Laing and Weiler (2008), there are four principle reasons why Asia is well-positioned to be a global leader in health and wellness tourism and the reasons are summarized as the following: firstly, in an increasing artificial world, many western tourists are seeking a return to nature and natural elements, and many are drawn to Oriental practices and cultures; secondly, the trend towards traditional, more 'natural' treatments and therapies is complemented by a growing desire for eco-aware products and services (Wight 1993); thirdly, Asia also has a natural advantage for developing a wellness tourism industry, particularly one centered on the Spa tourism experience, given its varied landscapes which seem exotic to western consumers; and final reason specially relates to cost, especially concerning health and medical tourism for people in western and other sources of market.

According to Zehzad et al. (2002), Iran is predominantly an arid and semi-arid country. The most humid parts of the country are located in the northern slopes of the Alburz mountain ranges and the Caspian Sea lowlands. Central desert, in the middle of the Iranian plateau, and the *Lut* desert in the eastern region of Iran are the driest parts of the country. According to Goudie (2013) the average size of major dry land cities in the world expanded 7.9 times between 1950 and 2000, and the following table shows how Tehran expanded 7.9 times and Isfahan around 3 times during this time period (see Table 4.1). Thus dry lands have seen rapid rates of urbanization which, in some cases, caused a rise in groundwater levels by affecting the amount of moisture lost by evapotranspiration (Goudie 2013).

<b>City and Country</b>	<b>1950</b>	<b>2010</b>
Cairo, Egypt	2.41	12.66
Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso	0.03	2.55
Ndjamena, Chad	0.04	1.58
Lanzhou, China	0.32	2.10
Alexandria, Egypt	1.04	5.53
Jodhpur, India	0.18	1.22
Tehran, Iran	1.04	8.71
Esfahan, Iran	0.18	3.92
...		
<b>Total</b>	<b>13.37</b>	<b>105.38</b>

**Table 4. 1 Population of selected dry-land cities in 1950 and 2010 (millions)**

Source: Goudie 2013:108

In some arid and semi-arid parts of Iran, there are hot springs, fountains and groundwater, which are normally used for irrigation and for recreation activities. From a geological point of view a hot or mineral spring is a naturally occurring water source that rises to the surface under pressure, usually along fault lines or in the vicinity of active volcanic environments (Erfurt-Cooper and Cooper 2009). Thermal districts in Iran are mostly concentrated around quaternary volcanic centres or along major faults (Modabberi 2013). A large number of hot springs are located in north west Iran, in the Ardabil province, due to the geological situation mainly related to the activities of Sabalan Volcano. Annually hundreds of thousands of tourists use them for bathing and for Balneological purposes. According to Modabberi (2013) hot springs are usually enriched by some potentiality toxic elements inherited from the same hydrothermal reservoir. Throughout history, the Iranian people have persistently sought the rejuvenating health and curative powers of certain waters. Visiting hot springs has been widely reported as one of the earliest forms of tourism (Smith and Jenner 2000). Most Asian countries connected through the Silk Road offered travellers the use of hot springs for centuries (Erfurt-Cooper and Cooper 2009). Some examples are Kyrgyzstan, Nepal, Turkey, Iran, China and India where natural hot springs are abundant and appear to have had a historical use going back to ancient times.

The first academic research study about hot springs in Iran was carried out by the Forum on Thermalism of Japan in 2005 (a hardcopy is available in the ICHHTO Office in Isfahan, September 2013). It showed 20 major hot springs in the country

(see Table 4.2), ranking them according to various criteria such as hot spring locations, nearby facilities, geographical features and so on.

Number	City	Name of Spring	Score	Scale/Criterion
1	East Azarbayejan	Garmish	225	Excellent
2	East Azarbayejan	Bajilar	214	Excellent
3	Markazi	Mahallat	203	Excellent
4	Golestan	Ziyarat1	194	Good
5	Tehran	Bostan Abad	187	Good
6	Gorgan	Ziyarat2	171	Good
7	Bandar Abas	Dasht Azam	165	Good
8	Gonbad	Ferdos	157	Good
9	Bandar Abas	Geno	152	Good
10	Khozestan	Dehloran	137	Intermediate
11	Isfahan	Vartoon	124	Intermediate
12	Iranshahr	Bazman1	119	Intermediate
13	Ghazvin	Arshia	111	Intermediate
14	Zanjan	Van Tagh	105	Intermediate
15	Khozestan	Dehloran	89	Poor
16	Iranshahr	Bazman2	74	Poor
17	Hamadan	Gizarijeh	66	Poor
18	Yazd	Cham Ghale	47	Extremely poor
19	West Islam Abad	Sare Pol Zahab	41	Extremely poor
20	Kamyaran	Baba Gor Gor	38	Extremely poor

**Table 4. 2 The 20 Major Locations of Hot Springs in Iran by the Forum on Thermalism of Japan in 2005**

Source: Available hard copy in ICHHTO office in Isfahan [Accessed September 2013]

Most of the hot spring cases in Table 4.2 are located in the Alburz and Zagros Mountain ranges and derived from pressure gradients in the underlying rock strata. Erfurt-Cooper and Cooper (2009) also analyzed the major locations studied by the Forum on Thermalism of Japan in Iran, concluding that in some cases a very small number of domestic tourists used these resources, but locals certainly used the thermal facilities. Erfurt-Cooper and Cooper (2009:265) note, “small, often un-commercialized natural springs, but most have some form of built facility associated with the spring waters, some have histories spanning thousands of years and some are major Spa resort complexes dating from the end of the previous regime or earlier”. The above concepts provide an insight into the various elements that are desirable for a destination possessing hot springs in Iran. They range from natural resources to human-made attractions and facilities, which have normally been a necessary complement for attracting tourism, either domestic or international. However, Chapter 7 investigates the cases of hot springs in Isfahan province and

focusses on Vartoon hot spring (see number 11 on Table 4.2 above), which was not commercialized nor developed until 2011. Iran's tourism industry has many different and inter-related aspects and the next section attempts to discuss the tourism industry in contemporary Iran.

## *4.5 Tourism in Contemporary Iran*

Tourism is not new to Iran, as for thousands of years the country was connected by the Silk Road (Middleton 2006). However, the economic, business and political structure of Iran is complex and, at times contradictory (Butler and Hinch 2007). The structure affects the tourism industry as well as tourism planning and management. "As such, it constrains tourism in general and indigenous tourism in particular" (Butler and Hinch 2007:256). Mainly the geopolitical situation of Iran and various political changes are the main reason for tourist fluctuations in the region. Religion also plays an important role in influencing visitors' perception and behaviour in Iran. Obviously in order to understand the shape of tourism in contemporary Iran, it is necessary to review the political history of the country and reflect upon how this history has shaped attitudes to current tourism as well as the development of the sector alongside other economic priorities in the country (Baum and O'Gorman 2010). Tourism is a vital tool for political and economic change, and vice versa (Butler and Suntikul 2010). Mostly the geopolitical situation of Iran, being a member of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and having one of the world's largest natural gas reserves has a major distorting impact on attempts to develop other sectors in the economy, including tourism. Moreover the location of Iran, at the intersection between major Asian, Middle Eastern and European cultures creates real challenges as the country adjoins highly sensitive political and religious neighbours and of course complexity for a tourist destination. Additionally, ethnic or religious minorities such as Kurds, Baluchis, Turkmen, *Sunni* Muslims and others are a sensitive political issue in Iran and may act as a major divisive factor affecting the demand for tourism in the country. Sometimes tension or conflict spreads through the border regions of Iran inhabited by ethnic and

religious minorities. For example, the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, FCO, expressed their belief that Iran's border areas are particularly sensitive for travelling (FCO 2016). The primary threats to Iran's security are also from neighbouring countries with which the country shares land borders (Arnett 1997). The FCO advise against all travel to: areas within 100 km of the Iran/Afghanistan border; within 10 km of the entire Iran/Iraq border; the province of Sistan-Baluchistan; and the area to the east of Bam and Jask, including Bam (FCO 2016). This area is also notorious for banditry and is the main route for drug-traffickers from Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The threat from terrorism in neighbouring countries (Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan) is serious and on-going and affects the level of security development for the implementation of the tourist industry in Iran. According to Butler and Hinch (2007) Iran is a country that courts extreme emotional and ideological debate and faces challenges as a tourist destination both because of this controversial context and as a result of its association with conflict of neighbouring countries. In numerous areas, the tourism sector also experienced restructuring as a new political structure replaced the old regime. However, while the elite western explorers have been visiting Iran since before the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the beginning of mass tourism coincided with the final decade of rule of the last king of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi from 1941 to 1979 (Jones and Talebian 2015). Throughout the 1970s, Iran developed a profitable, safe and well-reputed destination for welcoming international visitors (Baum and O'Gorman 2010). For instance in October 1972, the king of Iran, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi decided to celebrate the '2,500-year Anniversary of the Founding of the Persian Empire by Cyrus the Great'. The celebration of this occasion of the founding of Persia's, Iranian monarchy, took place in the *Persepolis* as the ruins of the old cities of the Empire, near the city of Shiraz. According to Shawcross (1989) "The famed ruins of Persepolis were chosen not only as the authentic site of historical re-enactments, but also as the ultimate symbol of Iran's monarchy and civilization". Through the

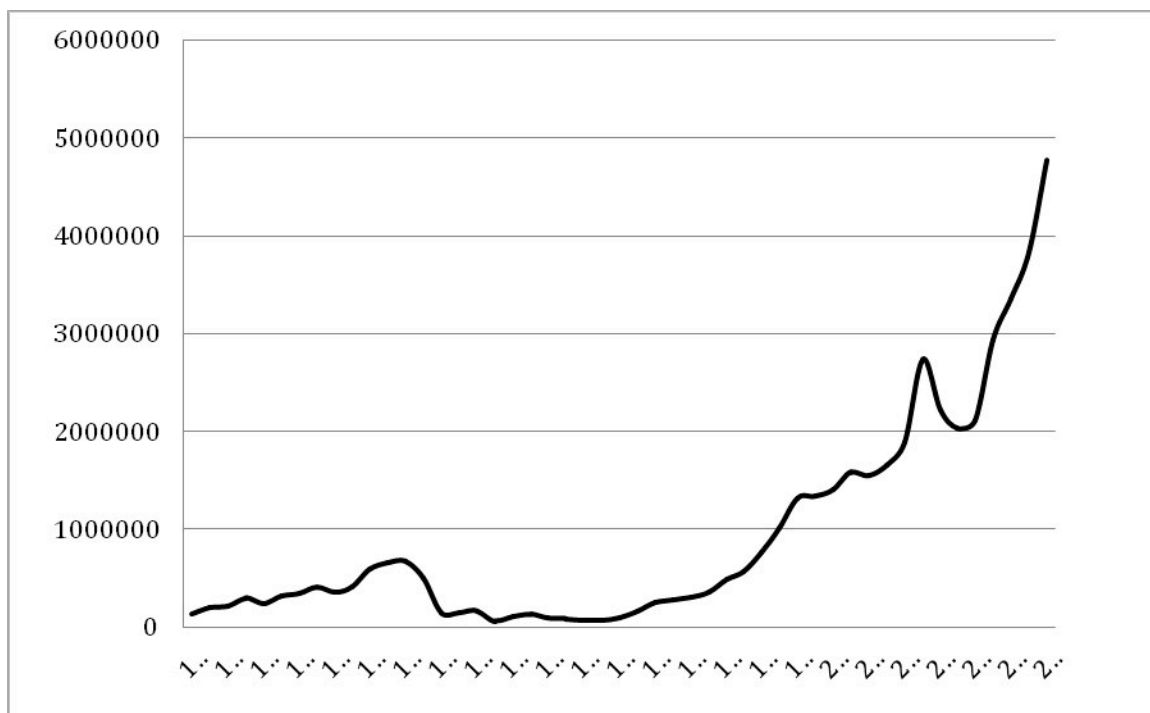
three days of royal celebrations, Persepolis became, according to official reports, “the centre of gravity of the world”:

*International invitees included the rich and famous of the time: a dozen kings and queens, ten princes and princesses, some twenty presidents and first ladies, ten sheikhs, and two sultans, together with emperors, vice presidents, prime ministers, foreign ministers, ambassadors, and other state representatives who came to witness a ritualistic speech by the king at Cyrus’ tomb, an unparalleled sound and light spectacle over Persepolis, exquisite banquets in a tent-city, and a fantastic parade of Persian history.*

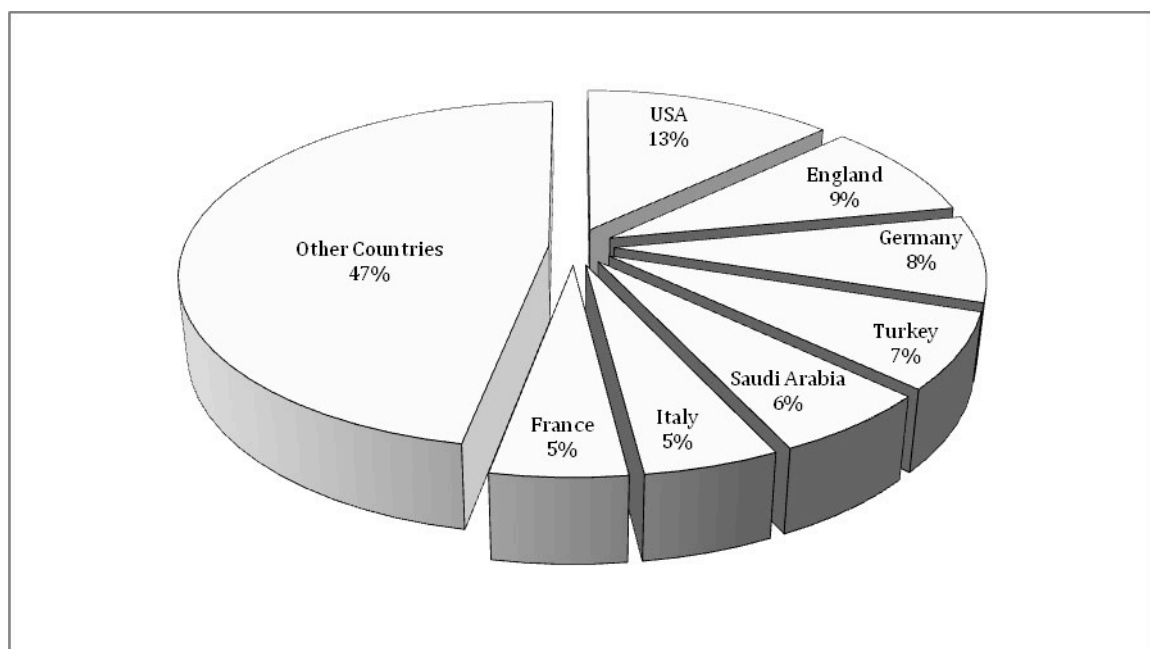
(Grigor 2005:23)

The main tourism markets in this period were European countries, USA and others (Ehlers 1974) and the main goal was to showcase the country for the tourist market, facilities and services under the authority of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (Mirzaei 2013) (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2). Moreover, the first master plan of tourism in Iran was developed in this period of time.





**Figure 4. 1 Iran International Visitor Arrivals from 1965 to 2013**  
Source: UNWTO 2005 and the World Bank 2015



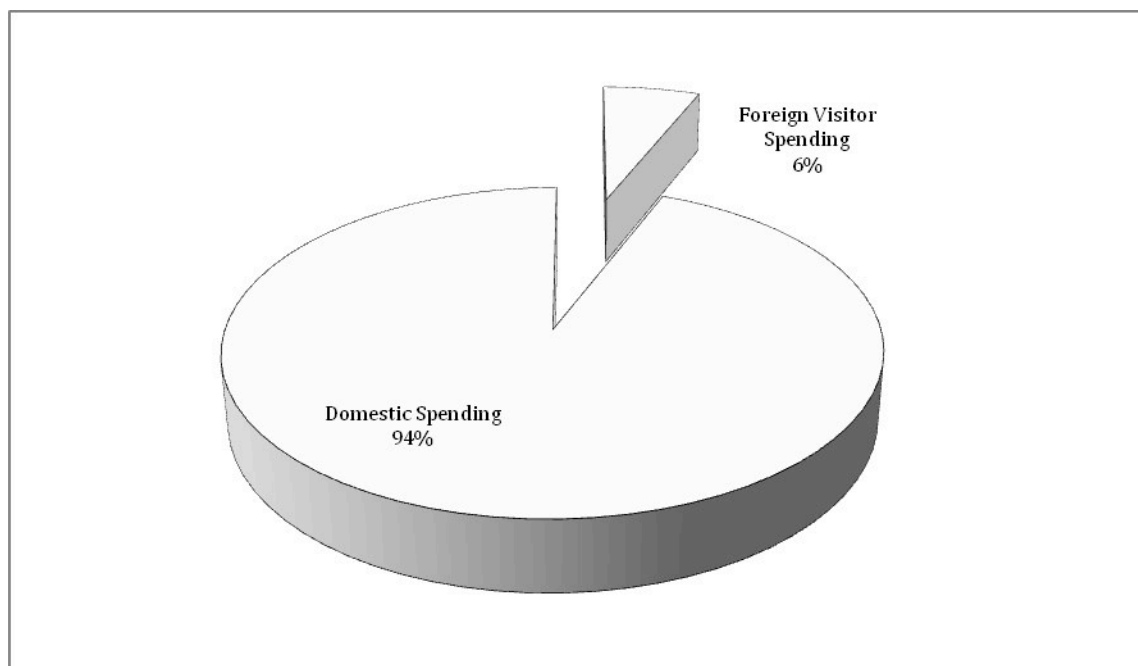
**Figure 4. 2 Tourist Arrivals by Nation and by Nationality in 1978**  
Source: Bureau of Statistics and Information (1997), Mirzaei 2013:136

Timothy and Nayaupane (2009) argue that from the position in 1978 when Iran was an attractive country and attempted to grow the number of international tourists, it suffered from a number of barriers after the Islamic revolution in 1979 and the war with Iraq, bringing representations of Iran as a hard-line Islamic state and warnings not to travel there. Both domestic and international tourism suffered as a result of the socio-political turmoil of the Iran-Iraq war from 1980 to 1988<sup>17</sup> (Jones and Talebian 2015). However, in the case of Iran, external political issues and international relations have been playing a fundamental role in the modern tourism industry since 1979 (Vafadari and Cooper 2010). According to Alipour and Heydari (2005) despite the vast tourist numbers, resources and potential, Iranian tourism has experienced a tremendous set-back due to the upheavals of the late 1970s and the Iran-Iraq war. Clearly post-revolution Iran brought fundamental changes in various forms of political, economical and religious attitude as well as to the tourism sector. Finally, among the various factions in post revolution Iran, the reformist movement of the 1990's attempted to bring positive effects on the issue of tourism development in the country. Alipour and Heydari (2005) discuss that tourism at that time was not only carried out in a decisively planned and implemental manner, but also in on an organizational level, which generated discussion among certain elements of the public sector within the reformist camp. They also added the attitude towards the tourism industry and its development from the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century onwards reflects different Iranian presidential strategies, styles and values based on political parties and factions in different periods of time. Mainly 'Tourism' on the agenda of the Iranian political landscape juxtaposed with the reformist Seyed Mohammad Khatami's victory in the presidential election from 1997 to 2005. A large part of this growth is attributed to the Iranian expatriates returning to visit, and as an outcome of reformist policies in easing travel to Iran (Alipour and Heydari 2005). However, in 2005 the conservative Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was elected president of Iran replacing the reformist Mohammad Khatami and served two

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<sup>17</sup> Iran–Iraq War was an armed conflict between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Iraq lasting from September 1980 to August 1988, making it the 20th century's longest conventional war.

consecutive terms in office from 2005 to 2013. During his presidency the international geopolitical situation deteriorated and international sanctions hit Iran's tourism sector seriously. According to Russell (2015) economic policies took several bizarre turns, including interest rates dropping below the rate of inflation. No major foreign investment took place from 2002 during Ahmadinejad's presidency. Moreover the nuclear programme and economic sanctions battered the Iranian economy as well as the tourism market and international tourism involvement. On the contrary, it is important to highlight that at that time when international tourism to Iran remained low, there were hopeful signs in domestic tourism throughout the country (Jones and Talebian 2015). While many of these consequences can be viewed as negative, the lack of international tourism and foreign investment did provide an opportunity for local, small-scale indigenous tourism in Iran (Gharibi and Taleshi 2013). Clearly Iran did not rely on western travellers at that time but mainly focused on the importance of domestic tourism that cannot be ignored. In 2012, the number of domestic tourists was approximately 52 million compared to the 3 million international tourists (Jones and Talebian 2015:157). Due to some political issues in the country, the year of 2012 represented a challenge for the international tourism industry (Hosseini, Zainal, and Sumarjan 2015:418). But the domestic travel spending in Iran has sharply increased since 2012; WTTC's latest annual report (2015) shows domestic travel spending in Iran generated 94.0% of direct 'Travel & Tourism GDP' in 2014 compared with 6.0% for visitor exports (i.e. foreign visitor spending or international tourism receipts) (see Figure 4.3).



**Figure 4.3 Travel & Tourism's Contribution to GDP: Domestic vs Foreign 2014**  
Source: WTTC's Annual Report 2015

Usually as a result of the political situation, religious tourism and pilgrimage make up much of the inbound trade in Iran and are thus inseparable parts of the modern industry of Iran (Vafadari and Cooper 2010). Additionally the holy sites of Iran are important landmarks in attracting domestic tourists as well as other *Shia* Muslim tourists. According to Vafadari and Cooper (2010:162) “over 5 million domestic tourists per year now visit these holy sites, among which the shrine of Imam Reza in Mashhad, Iran’s holiest *Shia* city, is the greatest attraction”. Today with the recent moderate election of a President of Iran since 2013, Hassan Rouhani, the international perception seems to have shifted once again, especially due to the final agreement of Iran’s nuclear programme<sup>18</sup> in July 2015 between Iran, the P5+1 and the European Union. The importance of history and cultural heritage for the tourism industry is considered more seriously by the recent Iranian government. According to the recent Vice-President of ICHHTO (since 30<sup>th</sup> January 2014), Masoud Soltanifar, “bright days” lie ahead for the country’s tourism industry following the nuclear agreement struck in Vienna (Gulf News July 2015). He mentioned, “No other

<sup>18</sup> The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) is an international agreement on the nuclear programme of Iran signed in Vienna on 14 July 2015 between Iran and the P5+1, the five permanent members of the United Nations and Germany.

industry in Iran will see a bigger boost than tourism as the result of this seal". He also added "the news about the nuclear agreement and lifting of economic sanctions has delighted our tourism industry". The Iranian President, Hassan Rouhani, is taking fresh measures to ease or abolish visa requirements for many foreign visitors and encourage investment for new tourism infrastructures as well as new hotels, as existing accommodation is insufficient to cater for the rise in tourism that has occurred since his election in 2013 (The Guardian News July 2015). "In 2014, the nation hosted over 5 million tourists, bringing in some \$7.5bn in revenue, but Masoud Soltanifar told AP that Iran aims to attract 20 million tourists a year by 2025, generating £30bn a year" (News BBC 2016). Jonny Bealby, the founder and CEO, A Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Wild Frontiers, which has been organizing tours of the ancient sites of Iran for 10 years told IBTimes UK, the number of Britons booking trips to the country of Iran was already 50 per cent up from last year (IBTimes UK July 2015), Jonny Bealby said:

*With the nuclear deal, we expect that upward trajectory to continue... It does show that they are open to tourists.*

Accordingly, the latest news on Iran reveals a very important contribution for necessary effort to revive the field of management for both tangible and intangible heritages and the tourism industry. According to BBC News (January 2016), the BBC business reporter, Ben Morris said:

*Back in October 2015, Iran's Vice-President told the AP news agency that he was expecting a 'tsunami' of tourists as a result of the lifting of sanctions. With spectacular tourist attractions like the cities of Persepolis, Shiraz and Isfahan, Iran certainly has potential.*

So the impact of the above issues has gained increased attention for tourism development in Isfahan. The recognition of the importance and potential contribution of tourism can lead to promoting the attitudes towards heritage conservation and historical buildings, as well as traditional activities also available in the contemporary city. Thus, the next empirical chapters attempt to mainly focus

on the recent condition of existing historical *hammams* in Isfahan, their transformation and mapping the multi-dimensional historical aspects of those traditional buildings and their significant role in tourism involvement in the contemporary city of Isfahan.

## 4.6 Summary

This chapter described the personal bonds and attachment of tourism and places. It discussed how places have a direct bearing on the experiences of tourists, who provide human meaning, bringing positive significant effects of place attachment and shape the effective market for the tourism industry. Thus this work brought several examples of European explorers/travellers whose involvement and intercultural impressions revealed their desire for the Orient as well as for Islamic cities.

Accordingly, the analysis of the three case studies, the historical *hammams* in contemporary Isfahan, illustrates different aspects of the relationship between tourism and heritage in the interest in the development of historical *hammams* and its part in tourism. Moreover, this work also enhances the revival of traditional activities within the context of historical *hammams* and expresses the view that heritage conservation, both tangible and intangible, can be used to develop tourism in a variety of ways and different approaches if it is properly managed. Mainly the approaches for the preservation of heritage in ruins, readjusted heritage for a new use and even the original functionality was discussed with the focus on valuing the recent condition of three historical *hammams*, their actual role in tourism development and ensuring effectiveness of their use in the city.

Furthermore this chapter discussed health tourism definitions as well as the origins of spa, medical and wellness in the tourism industry. Particular emphasis was given to mineral water springs worldwide and on visiting hot springs in Iran. The chapter provided references to thermal districts and major hot springs in the country and

insights into their essential role in tourism development, which are desirable for health tourism destinations in Iran.

Finally, in giving a geopolitical and historical overview, this chapter also discussed the contemporary tourism industry in Iran and considers the main challenges facing international tourism in the country where the political issues are interrelated to political and economical sanctions. Thus, in Iran, the total number of domestic tourists was greater than that of international tourists. However, over the last decade the tourism industry has shown dynamic growth in Iran and correspondingly in historical cities like Isfahan.

## ***Chapter 5***

# ***The Architecture and Transformation of Hammams in Iran: Isfahan and Current Stakeholders***





## 5.1 Introduction

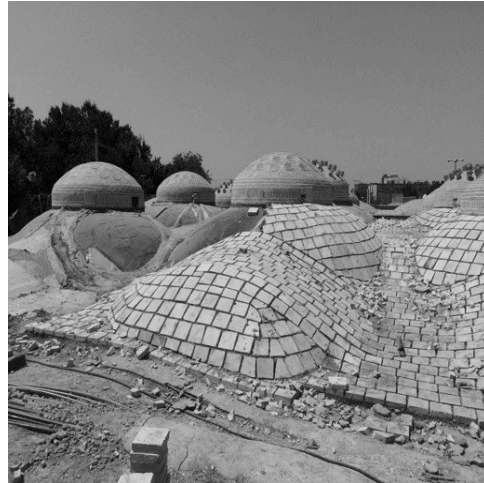
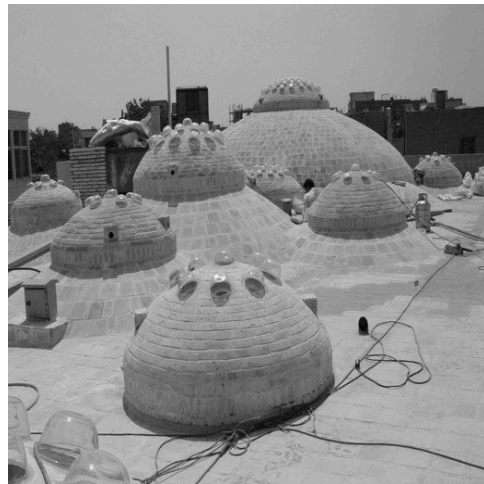
This chapter attempts to highlight the role and organizational behaviour of key stakeholders towards the current situation of the existing historical *hammams* in the city. Thus organizational behaviour mainly focuses on the behaviour of key organizational entities associated with historical *hammams* in contemporary Isfahan and seeks to provide a set of implications for such behaviour through a wide range of activities, responsibilities, financial budget and others, which I will go on to explore in this chapter.

Thus this chapter begins with a description of Iranian *hammams*, their architecture, structure, and transformation through the history of Iran as well as that of Isfahan. The chapter attempts to display different dimensions of historical *hammams* conservation, their recent functionality and their relationship with tourism development in Isfahan. Moreover, the chapter describes the five key organizations that have a significant contribution in the research cases studies (see 18 registered historical *hammams* in Isfahan). Additionally the chapter discusses the role of people as stakeholders and their connection with the current condition of historical *hammams* in the contemporary city and predominantly focuses on the local community, visitors/tourists and individual owners/investors.

## 5.2 The Architecture of Hammams in Iran

As mentioned earlier (see Chapters 2 and 3), the concept of *hammams* in all Islamic cities refers to the buildings that have the same functionality and share the same facilities for Muslims. Architecturally, they are easily identified by a smoking chimney and a low glass-studded dome, or by the splendour of domed structures rising above the level of the surrounding *bazaar* (see Figure 5.1). From the outside, like many other structures of the Islamic cities, *hammams* have massive building blocks and are windowless. However, in different Islamic cities in Turkey, Iran, Tunisia or others Muslim countries, *hammams* have different forms, design and architectural elements or even have specific structures, art and design in different

historical periods. Arguably, the Safavid dynasty is the most well-known historical period in Iran for Islamic art and saw a large number of Islamic buildings such as *hammams*, mosques, caravanserais and others being built. Although the Safavid Islamic buildings were inspired by Persian pre-Islamic art, they asserted power and prestige and their identification with *Shia* Islam laid the foundation for much of what characterizes modern Iran. According to Daneshpanah and Mousavizade (2012) in all Iranian cities that showcase the influence of Islamic culture and customs on architecture and urban layout, the central region is the most significant in the country as it has the highest concentration of intact examples like *hammams*. Thus Neyestani and Amirhajloo (2010) argue that in Iran as well as Isfahan, the main elements and shared locations of Iranian *hammams* include: a portal, vestibule, *Sarbineh*, *Miyandar*, *Gramkhaneh* and a reservoir. Usually the Iranian *hammams*, particularly from the Safavid dynasty, have a threefold structure, which is spatially and functionally sequential: the *Sarbineh* (the dressing room), the *Miyandar* (a connecting corridor), and the *Garmkhaneh* (the hot bathing room) (Neyestani and Amirhajloo 2010; Rohol Amini 2007; Sarmiento and Kazemi 2014).

Dardasht *hammam*, IsfahanRehnai *hammam*, IsfahanShah *hammam*, IsfahanAli Gholi Agha *hammam*, Isfahan**Figure 5.1** Domed structures of several of the *hammams* in Isfahan

Source: Author October 2014

The *Sarbineh* is a roofed courtyard with a pool in the centre as well as *sang-ab*, the stone carved ornamental basin to serve water, traditional or fruit juice drinks to the visitors in the *Sarbineh*. The *Sarbineh* has a polyhedral base (octagonal, hexagonal, rectangular or quadrilateral), which includes an identical base inside it (see Figure 5.2). Normally, the platforms around the *Sarbineh* are the places to change clothes, to engage in conversation and to relax. All around the *Sarbineh*, there are elevated platforms, which were mainly used for changing clothes. In addition, several stone pillars are located under the *Sarbineh*'s central dome and some lower ceilings also cover the side platforms. There are spaces under these platforms, which serve as a place to deposit shoes. However, in some cases there are several fountains around

the *Sarbineh*, which people use(d) to wash their feet before moving to the next compartment.



**Figure 5.2 Ali Gholi Agha hammam Sarbineh, Isfahan**  
Source: Courtesy of photographer Alagheband 2013

*Miyandar*, the space or corridor between the *Sarbineh* and *Garmkhaneh*, exists to reduce the heat waste and to avoid direct views into the bath. The following part along the corridor is *Garmkhaneh*, the hot washing room. The *Garmkhaneh* with a polyhedral base is generally divided into different parts by stone pillars. In the centre of the *Garmkhaneh*, there is usually a dome with stone pillars. In larger hammams the *Garmkhaneh* can be divided in various bathing section or rooms, like *Khazineh*, *Khalvat* and *Chal Howz*. *Khazineh*, a small pool, sometimes with cold water, used for ablutions, is usually located in front of the entrance to the *Garmkhaneh*. Also in some cases, adjacent to the *Garmkhaneh* there is a *Khalvat* room, or solitude room, which is used by the owner of the hammam, kings or special guests. In larger and more important hammams, *Chal Howz* also refers to a swimming pool inside the big *Garmkhaneh*. Occasionally two more sections were

established in the space of *Garmkhaneh*: firstly *Nooreh kesh khaneh*, a depilation private room which was normally used to clean the body, apply henna, cupping as well as a shaving room; and secondly *Shah Neshin*, the formal sitting area which usually takes place on both sides of *Chal Howz* (swimming pool), with two alcoves built into a wall. The water required was mainly provided by streams, aqueducts or wells. The latter were the most important water source for public buildings, especially in Iran. In many cases there is a long corridor, named *Gav-ro*, which is compound word in Farsi: *Gave* means cow and *ro* is a movement verb, in the imperative form. It is a corridor that leads to a well, from which an ox or cow pulls water buckets. Foot-operated wells were also found in smaller buildings (Sarmiento and Kazemi 2014). The internal space of some *hammams* was divided by two large and small baths, which were connected to each other; all parts had geometrical bases of the above features. Sometimes they were named twin *hammams*, but had completely separate and different sized rooms for men and women. Whenever male and female visitors wanted to use the *hammam* at the same time, the small bath was designated for women. Often the two main entrance doors for male and female visitors were located on opposite sides of the *hammam*. The entrances to *hammams* are normally very small opening doors with a low level ceiling in order to preserve the heat, bath steam and fitting with the desire for privacy and gender segregation. Generally the entrance to the small *hammam* was located in a narrow alley of *bazaar* and was dedicated to female visitors to ensure privacy for women from outsiders' view. To indicate the locations of the *hammam* in the quarter or *bazaar* the exterior entrance walls are decorated with brightly coloured traditional cotton towels, *long* in Farsi, which are normally used as a traditional male loin cloth towel worn during bathing, massage and is also used to dry the body after bathing and wiping away perspiration (see Figure 5.3).





Sharif hammam, Isfahan



Sharif hammam, Isfahan



Zaferani hammam, Isfahan



Zaferani hammam, Isfahan



Haj Kazem hammam, Isfahan



Haj Kazem hammam, Isfahan

**Figure 5.3 Hammam's decorated with traditional cotton towels**  
Source: Author October 2013

Today the majority of *hammams* in Iran as well as Isfahan city is being transformed, have vanished, or have changed and serve other purposes. Because of that the next section looks at the transformation of *hammams* in Iran in general and in Isfahan city in particular.

### 5.3 Hammam Transformation in Isfahan, Iran

As mentioned earlier (see Chapter 4), the historic centres of the larger Iranian cities went through significant transformation under Reza Shah in the Pahlavid dynasty (1925–1941). These transformation processes are in tune with what is happening in other Islamic cities, such as Cairo (Fadli and Sibley 2008; El Kerdany 2008), Damascus (Sibley 2006) and Istanbul (Cichocki 2005; Smolijaninovaité 2007). According to Sarmiento and Kazemi (2014) sharp urban growth took place in Isfahan at that time; new streets and avenues dissecting the historic core led to numerous demolitions in the urban fabric including buildings such as *hammams*, *caravanserais* and others. Ehlers and Floor (1993:262) argue that “between 1930 and 1941, the total population in Isfahan increased from 80,000 to more than 200,000, and this trend continued in the following decades, with the population increasing six-fold between 1956 and 2006” (Assari and Mahesh 2012:465). The urban renewal of the old city centres in Iranian cities such as Isfahan led to a juxtaposition of the old and the modern fabric in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century (Ehlers and Floor 1993; Sibley 2008). According to Rajaei (2014) *hammams* were central elements of the social life in Iran, but reformers criticized them as modernism which was beginning to penetrate the society in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Fakhari Tehrani (2000:103) described the first public Iranian modern style *hammam* with shower baths built in Tehran in 1879. It was designed by Momtahn Al-Dole (1808-1882), a famous Iranian architect, inspired by the structure of a *hammam* in Trabzon<sup>19</sup> in Turkey. Then public *hammams* became less prominent with the improvement of housing, sanitary conditions and increasing private bathhouses within the context of Reza’s urban reforms in the Pahlavid

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<sup>19</sup> Trabzon is a major city on the Black Sea coast of north eastern Turkey and during the Ottoman period (1299-1922) it became a focal point of trade to Iran, India and the Caucasus (Kutlu 2014).



dynasty. Additionally, based upon the wide spread of diseases in Iran in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the country was a fertile ground for the fatal spread of cholera (Afkhani 1998) and intense discussion regarding unhealthy conditions in *hammams* was held. According to Azizi and Azizi (2010) during the major pandemics of cholera in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries this illness reached Iran and led to strong depopulation. Poor *hammam* conditions, lack of a well-organized public health authority for implementing preventive and quarantine measures, as well as Iran's specific geographic location were the main facilitating factors in the emergence of various epidemics, including cholera outbreaks during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Consequently *hammams* were ordered to close down, while others were forced to improve the levels of cleanliness, introducing shower baths or other modern infrastructure since Reza Shah's decree. Crucially among such standards was the use of showers instead of *khazinah*, a large or small public pool used for washing one's body remarkably for *Ghusl*<sup>20</sup> activities. Therefore several symptoms of disease and skin problems were some of the most common reasons people used the *Khazinah*. Additionally water in Isfahan, like in many other historic Iranian cities, was mostly supplied by shallow wells and distributed by open air canals (Ehlers and Floor 1993). Thus, there was a time when *hammams* were considered to be unusable and caused a different perspective on bathing. Some people gradually started to build their own bathrooms and consequently private bathroom installations kept growing. But some old parts of the city, especially the poor neighbourhood *hammams*, were still a key urban site with a remarkable number of visitors in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century (Sarmiento and Kazemi 2014). Some people, particularly those who lived in the suburbs or historical parts of cities like Isfahan, were not yet religiously, socially, culturally or even psychologically ready for such changes. Rajaei (2014) argues that the opposition voiced by those who used to go to *hammams* and did not want to replace *khazinah* by showers lasted. The conflict had many complex

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<sup>20</sup> *Ghusl* is an ablution in Islamic culture, which is an obligatory ritual wherein the body is washed thoroughly after exposure to religious contaminants such as sexual intercourse, menstruation, and childbirth. During the menstrual period Muslim women should bathe frequently because of their religious beliefs (Yildirim et al. 2012). The ritual bath given to a dead Muslim before burial is also known as *ghusl*. Fasasi (2013) mentions in Islamic law, *ghusl* is considered an act of worship; it is an act of purifying oneself from ritual impurity (*Nejasat*).

vicissitudes and continued during the period of 1961 to 1971, in the Mohammad Reza Shah (1941-1979) dynasty. Additionally for some people the changes also affected their jobs, their lifestyle and many difficulties arose. Rostami-Povey (2013) believes that Reza Shah's westernization of the economy and society attracted a section of the society, which rapidly became the new bourgeoisie and the professional salary-earners. She also mentions the Islamists lost much of their economic and political power and this created intense hatred for Reza Shah among large sections of the population who identified with the Islamists and were excluded from the process of socio-economic and political development. Occasionally the new *hammam* structures were also shaped with severe complaints from numerous Islamic clergies. The aim of Reza Shah's reform was to centralize state power, which meant keeping the clergy and religious institutions under his control (Rostami-Povey 2013). Meanwhile, the Iranian municipal authorities, which were instructed by the special purpose of the state to change or close down *hammams*, adopted a number of measures and mostly forced the owners of *hammams* to abide by state hygienic guidelines (Rajaei 2014). Rajaei (2014) discusses how ultimately, fundamental changes in the lifestyle and architecture of the urban buildings made feasible the existence of private bathhouses; thus, the issue of *hammams* was gradually detached from the social life of cities. Accordingly, despite the religious nature of the city, going to *hammams* in Iran was seen as a backward public social practice, and revealed out-dated ways of life that were, according to the younger generation, incompatible with modern, international and cosmopolitan behaviour (Sarmiento and Kazemi 2014). At the same time, in most Iranian houses equipped with private bathhouses, people encountered a new understanding of bathing, in a more private way. Perhaps private bathhouses promoted special discourses that helped to create the idea that public *hammams* were unhygienic places, due to the poor conditions, old-fashioned or because of a certain idea of a backward history.

Shafaghi (2006) argues *hammams* in Isfahan lost their own functionality half a century ago, in the middle of the Pahlavi dynasty. He also confirms a few numbers of historical *hammams* in Isfahan which kept their own architectural features. Yet the

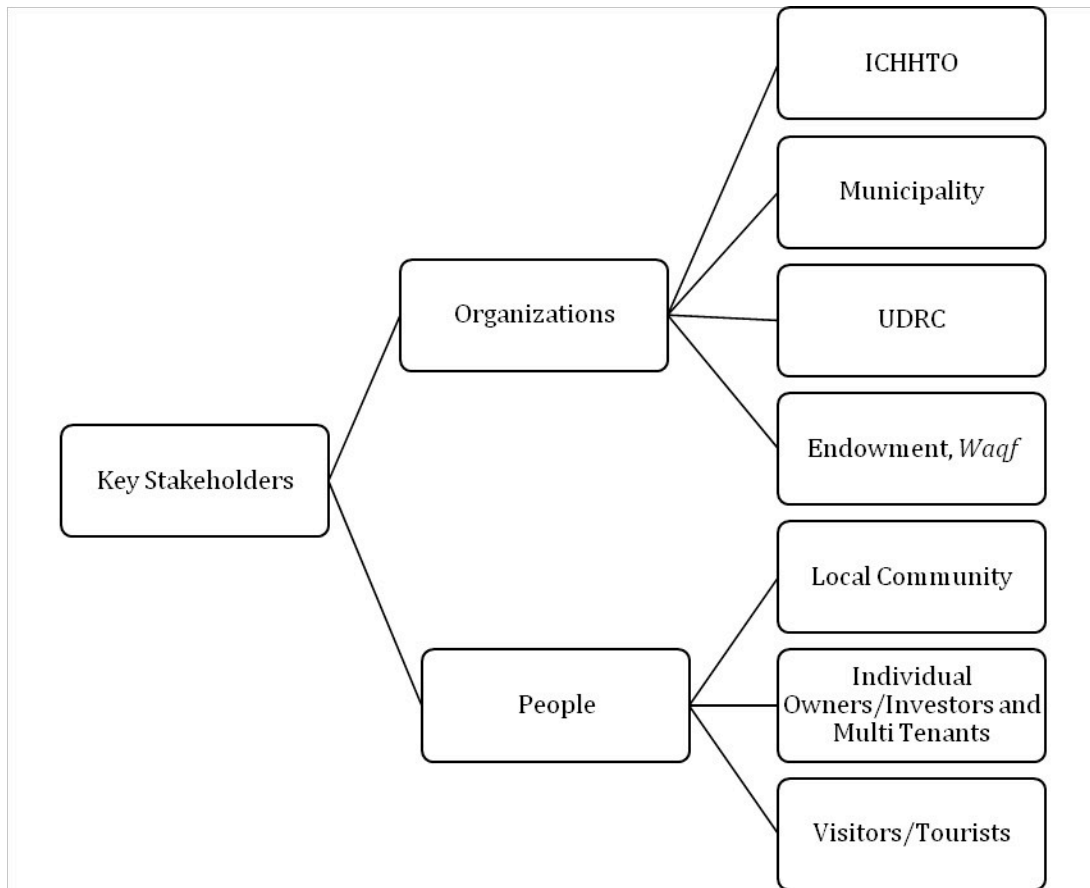
majority of them closed down or vanished. Sarmiento and Kazemi (2014) argue that the accelerated urban growth, and semi-processes of gentrification in some parts of the city, notably along the riverfront, have been responsible for numerous urban morphology changes in contemporary Isfahan. They also discuss these recent urban changes and claim that they accentuated the situation where several *hammams* could be found; *hammams* which were once surrounded by traditional old quarters and by inhabitants who have been using them for generations– there are now new urban blocks, inhabited by people who do not use, or need to use them. In 1924 the number of *hammams* in Isfahan city was around 85 (Jenab 1924), though earlier sources point to 273 (Chardin in the Safavid dynasty). Currently, 18-historical *hammams* are registered in Isfahan city as a national heritage (List provided by the Isfahan office of the ICHHTO, accessed October, 2014). These are the responsibility of a variety of stakeholders including organizations and people with different historical background, interests, planning, skills or financial budget. The next section attempts to study the current organizations, which are connected to the existing historical *hammams* in Isfahan city and also discusses the influence of people as stakeholders.

## *5.4 Current Stakeholders and Historical Hammams in Isfahan*

The stakeholder concept was introduced into the management domain by the Stanford Research Institute in 1963, referring to any groups or individuals who are crucial for organizational survival (Freeman 2010). The classic definition of a stakeholder is “any group or individual who can affect, or is affected by the achievement of the organization’s objectives” (Freeman 1984:46). An extensive study carried out by Freidman and Miles (2006) provides an indication of the popularity and importance of the stakeholder definition from 1963 to 2003. Thus, for the purpose of recognizing the role of key stakeholders among historical *hammams* in contemporary Isfahan, this section focuses on a broad definition which was proposed by Gray et al. (1996) “any group or individual that can be influenced

by, or can itself influence, the activities of the organization” (as cited in Friedman and Miles 2006:9). Byrd (2007) argues that stakeholder participation can be facilitated by, or implemented in different forms and can be used in different places. Bryson (2004) also explains the term of stakeholder can refer to people, groups or organizations who must somehow be taken into account by leaders, managers or others. An important function of this research is to understand the nature and scope of organizational behaviour due to the subject area of the historical *hammams* in Isfahan. According to French et al. (2011) organizational behaviour is a complex subject, which draws on fields such as sociology, anthropology and psychology and also links to other social sciences such as economics and political science. They also added “Organizational behaviour is unique in its focus by applying diverse insights to create better understanding and management of human behaviour in organizations” (2011:8).

With the focus on the research case studies undertaken between October 2010 and October 2014, various stakeholders were involved in the current condition of historical *hammams* in the contemporary city. The stakeholders are divided by different organizations and people, and both of them can be influenced by, or have influence on historical *hammams* in Isfahan city (see figure 5.4).



**Figure 5.4 The key stakeholders and historical *hammams* in Isfahan**  
 Source: Author October 2014

### 5.4.1 Organizations

This section basically focuses on the four key organizations that have had a significant effect on the current condition of historical *hammams* in Isfahan city. The organizations play a significant role in shaping the current condition of historical *hammams* as well as their recent functionalities in the contemporary city. So this section mainly attempts to understand the historical background of these four organizations and basically their organizational behaviour based on the understanding of the current condition of historical *hammams* in the city.

### *5.4.1.1 Iran's Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism Organization*

Historically in Iran, tourism, heritage and handicraft sectors were delegated to various authorities and shifted regularly from one organization or ministry to another. With the focus on the history of the tourism sector, Farzin (2007) indicate that the primary comprehensive plan for tourism in Iran dated back to 1921 in the Pahlavid dynasty. Since then, and for 13 years, there was no more plan or institute for tourism sector, so the first attempt to shape Iran's tourism sector did not occur until 1934 (Alipour and Heydari 2005; Ranjbarian and Zahedi 2009). Finally the official bureau of tourism was inaugurated under the auspices of the 'Ministry of the Interior' (Ranjbarian and Zahedi 2009), and attempted to promote international tourism and provided all the facilities, services and required information for the tourism sector in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> Century. In 1940 the Bureau of Tourism was renamed as the 'Higher Council of Tourism' and started to add some new laws, authorities and regulations on behalf of the tourism sector in Iran (Alipour and Heydari 2005; Ranjbarian and Zahedi 2009). However in the 1960s, the tourism sector received special attention by the co-operation of 12 different ministries. Consequently in 1962 the agency was named '*Sazmane Jalbe Sayyahan*' which means "Organization of Visitors Affairs and Attraction" (Ranjbarian and Zahedi 2009). The agency was incorporated into the 'Ministry of Information' and changed its name to the 'Ministry of Information and Tourism' on June 24<sup>th</sup> 1974 (Ranjbarian and Zahedi 2009). Post-revolutionary Iran brought fundamental changes in various aspects such as tourism policies and different strategies in numerous areas and cities (see Chapter 4). Consequently, the 'Ministry of Information and Tourism' was converted into the 'Ministry of National Guidance' and then in 1980 transformed to the 'Ministry of Islamic Guidance'. Therefore the 'Iranian Centre of Tourism Affairs' under the supervision of the 'Ministry of Islamic Guidance' started to work in October 1979. The 'Iranian Centre of Tourism Affairs' became an official deputy of tourism in Iran by the co-operation of four companies including the 'Tourist

Facilities Company, Iranian Patrols Company, the Housing Centre Company and the Tourism Centre Company for Winter Sport' (Ranjbarian and Zahedi 2009). The Iran-Iraq war, which was exacerbated by the hostage crisis of the 1980s, again dampened and hit the tourism sector (Faghri 2007). So the tourism sector experienced restructuring as a new political structure replaced the old and a new administration replaced the former: from the 'Iranian Centre of Tourism Affairs' to the "Iran Touring and Tourism Organization (ITTO)".

Additionally the significance of heritage and national official rules for cultural heritage conservation was shaped by Naser al-Din Shah, the fourth king and the longest reigning monarch in the Qajar dynasty (1848-1896) (Baker et al. 2014). According to Baker et al. (2014) Naser al-Din Shah was inspired by visiting Europe in 1873, especially the Palace of Versailles. The first 'European national museum' opened on 27 July 1793, the Louvre museum under the name 'Museum of Arts', and consequently the first Royal museum was created by order of Naser al-Din Shah in Golestan Palace in Tehran in 1876 (Devos and Werner 2013:127). This Palace's famous mirrored gallery influenced the hall of mirrors in the Golestan complex in Tehran, which served as the coronation room for both Reza Shah and his son in the Pahlavid dynasty. Moreover, in order to improve academic research development for heritage, Mozaffar ad-Din Shah Qajar, the fifth Qajar king of Iran in 1898 also established the 'Persian Science Institute'. The Institute played an important role in Iranian students getting involved in the significant issues of heritage in the country and made a practical and effective impact on heritage conservation. However, in the decade before the Iranian constitutional revolution<sup>21</sup>, there was no regulation and no legal criteria for heritage in Iran. So the constitutional revolution created new opportunities, opened up seemingly boundless possibilities and revealed the significance of a heritage asset. During the constitutional revolution, the 'Institute of Ancient, Antiques and Archeology' operated under the authority of the 'Ministry of Education, Endowment and Intangible Industry' from 1916 to 1918 and established

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<sup>21</sup> The Persian Constitutional Revolution or Iranian Constitutional Revolution (*Enghelāb-e Mashruteh*) took place between 1905 and 1907. The revolution led to the establishment of a parliament in Iran during the Qajar dynasty.

an Islamic parliament, *Majles*. At this time the first 'National Iranian Museum' was inaugurated and provided 270 different gallery rooms. In 1930, Andre Godard, an architect and historian of French and Middle Eastern art, served as director of the 'Iranian Archeological Institute': *Edare-ye kol-e atiqat*. The Institute supports the conservation and restoration of heritage in Iran and is responsible for listing them as Iranian national heritage. Moreover, from 1933 to 1938, the headmaster of the 'Ministry of Education', Ali Asghar Hekmat, emphasized the essential role of heritage in academic studies, particularly in Tehran University, and also opened the Natural Archeological Museum, the National Library building, and improved the mausoleums of *Ferdowsi*, *Hafez* and *Sa'di* <sup>22</sup> as heritage sites (Shirazi 2000). In 1937, the 'Ministry of Culture' was replaced by the 'Ministry of Education' and in 1940 the Department of 'General Directorate of Fine Arts' was absorbed into the 'Ministry of Culture'. A few years later, in 1964, the department came under the authority of the Iranian Prime Minister's office, in the 'Ministry of Culture and Art' aiming at encouraging artists to reinvigorate the country's national arts and heritage conservation. However, from 1979 onwards, the 'Ministry of Culture and Art' was dissolved and its competences divided into two ministries: 'Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance' and 'Ministry of Culture and Higher Education', with the following competences:

Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance:

- Administration of cultural heritage protection in urban areas
- Administration of museum management (general directorate)
- Administration of historical monuments management (general directorate)
- Administration of palaces

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<sup>22</sup> Famous Persian poets in the history of Iran.



Ministry of culture and higher education:

- Administration of traditional art
- Archeology centres
- Anthropology museums centre
- National ancient museum
- Monuments registration centre
- National protection of ancient monument centre.

Officially, the 'Cultural Heritage Organization (CHO)' was formed under the authority of the two above ministries on the 30<sup>th</sup> January 1986. But on the 6<sup>th</sup> April 1993 the 'Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance' took all its responsibilities. Therefore on the 13<sup>th</sup> January 2004, the CHO and the 'Iran Touring and Tourism Organization (ITTO)' were combined and named the 'Iran Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization' (ICHTO), under the authority of the President of Iran. From 2006, and in order to develop the growth of ICHTO the 'Handicraft Organization' was also included in the ICHTO, so the name was changed to the "Iran Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism Organization (ICHHTO).

Today, the tourism, heritage and handicraft are part of a single entity - ICHHTO – which is the official national institute under the authority of the President of Iran, who chooses its Director. Until the present time ICHHTO has the responsibility for the registration, preservation and supervision of national heritage, handicraft and tourism sectors. ICHHTO also provides an educational and research institution overseeing associated national monuments, conducting academic research, managing museum complexes, and the handicraft and tourism sectors. The ICHHTO budget for the financial year 2016 provides over 23 million USD to support all the institutional responsibilities. With the focus on the existing historical *hammams* in the contemporary city of Isfahan, there are 18 registered *hammams*, which are considered as Iranian national heritage in ICHHTO (see Table 5.1 and Figure 5.5).

Name	Registration Date	Registration Number
1) Ali Gholi Agha	13.12.1934	226
2) Rehnai	27.12.1968	825
3) Khosrow Agha	23.7.1974	976
4) Shahzadeha	23.10.1975	1115
5) Janat	28.1.2007	17035
6) Vazir	9.10.1996	1753
7) Shah Ali	2.8.1997	1904
8) Sheikh Bahaei	20.7.1998	2063
9) Jarchy Bashi	14.3.2005	11545
10) Dehnou	21.7.2005	12123
11) Sheikh Al Islam	13.8.2005	13002
12) Roghani	12.3.2006	14938
13) Dardasht	15.3.2006	15192
14) Haj Banan	29.1.2006	14156
15) Darb Imam	25.2.2007	17484
16) Ghazi	13.11.2007	20012
17) Haj Kazem	23.7.2008	23019
18) Shah	8.3.2013	7649

**Table 5.1 Registered historical *hammams* in Isfahan**

Source: The list provided by ICHHTO in Isfahan office, [Accessed October 2014]



**Figure 5. 5 The List of historical *hammams* in Isfahan city**

Source: Wikimedia Commons.org (Modified by Author) [Accessed November 2016]

However, only 9 out of 18 historical *hammams* are under the direct supervision of ICHHTO and they have different conditions and functionalities in the contemporary city (see Figure 5.6).

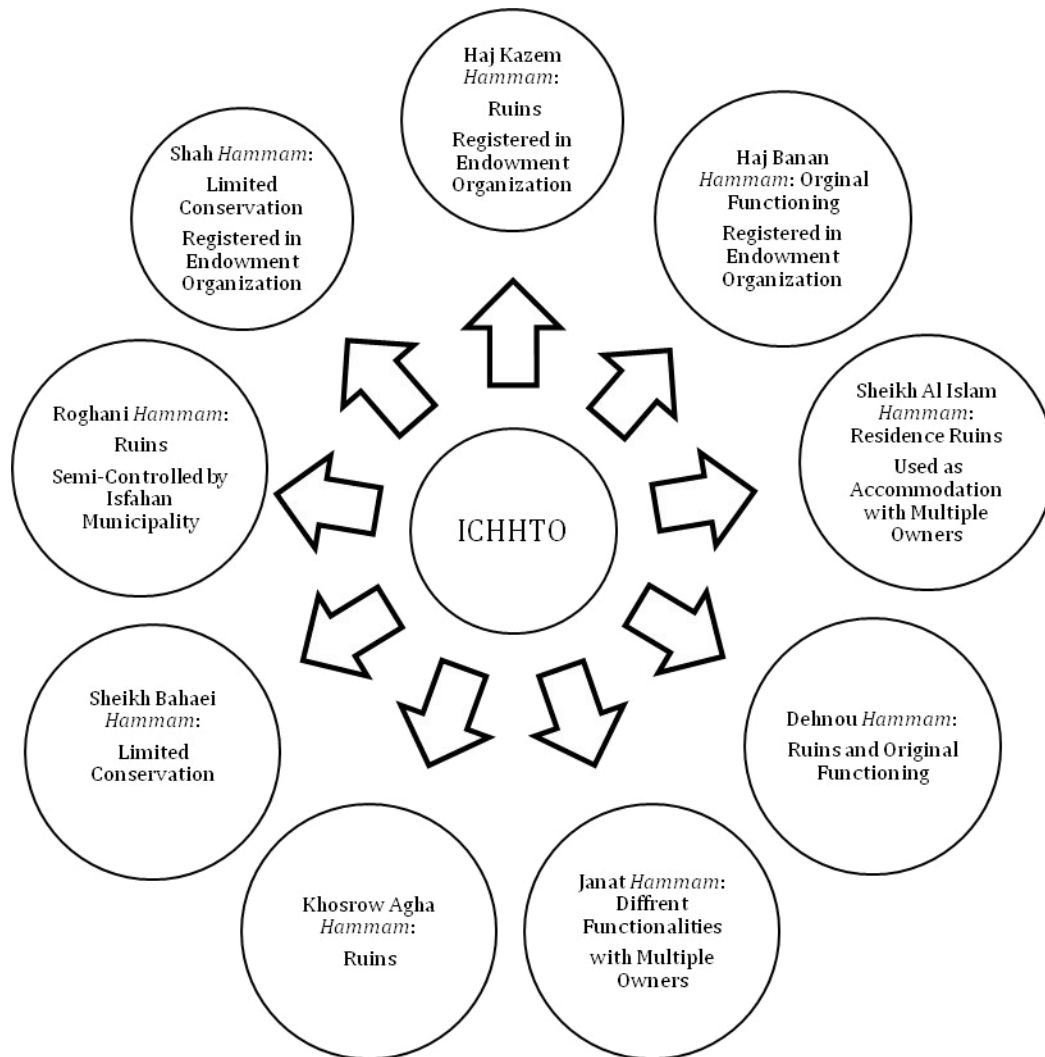


Figure 5.6 Historical *hammams* under the direct control of ICHHTO (2010-2015)

Source: Author 2015

### 5.4.1.2 Municipality, Isfahan

Municipalities in Iran are urban administrative divisions that have corporate status, self-government and jurisdiction powers in different cities. The genesis of municipality has a long history in Iran and plays an important role in urban growth as well as city development. The first comprehensive plan for urban growth and territory administration in Iran was shaped by Darius I, the third king of the *Achaemenid* Empire<sup>23</sup> of Iran (550-486 BCE) (Briant 2015). However, the Islamic conquest of Iran ended the *Sassanid* Empire<sup>24</sup> and, of course, urban growth as well as city development was much influenced by the characteristics of Islamic art and architecture. As mentioned earlier, despite the fact that the Qajar dynasty marked a period of economic decline in Iran, the first order of urban affairs office '*Ehtesabiyeh*' was executed during Naser-Din Shah Qajar in 1917 (Alavi 2011). *Ehtesabiyeh* was responsible for the cleaning and maintenance of the city, which was not supported by *Nazmiyeh*, the police headquarters. Consequently the first official municipality, *Baladiyeh*, built in Tehran by the legislative assembly of Mozafar-al-Din Shah Qajar (Alavi 2011). Thus, the *Baladiyeh* in different cities was entirely subservient to the central Iranian governor and the provincial authority. According to the Persian dictionary, *Farhang e Dehkhoda*, the Arabic word of *Baladiyeh* means: an establishment in any city, which kept the city clean and handled food, water and fuel. Thus *Baladiyeh* started to work under the authority of the 'Interior Ministry' from the 1910s to the 1920s. The main goal of *Baladiyeh* was the safekeeping of urban interests, residents' rights and city policies. In 1930 the new rules were established and *Baladiyeh* was responsible for a variety of tasks and responsibilities. *Baladiyeh* was replaced by the Farsi *Shahrdari* continuing under the supervision of the 'Interior Ministry'. Historical evidence shows that Isfahan was the second city in

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<sup>23</sup> The *Achaemenid* Empire (550–330 BC), called the First Persian Empire, was an empire based in Western Asia, founded by Cyrus the Great.

<sup>24</sup> The *Sasanian* Empire (224-651 AD), also known as *Sassanian*, *Sasanid*, *Sassanid* or *Neo-Persian* Empire was the last Iranian empire before the rise of Islam.

Iran after Tabriz to establish *Baladiyah*, on the 9<sup>th</sup> August 1907. Today the municipalities in Iran are the main body of the city development, and became autonomous in November 1952. They have a great influence on the urban structure under the supervision of the Interior Ministry (Yari, Ghadir Moghadam, and Khazaie 2013). Municipalities in Iran depend largely on their own property income. According to Iran Census Data (2012) the municipalities' income comes from a variety sources such as:

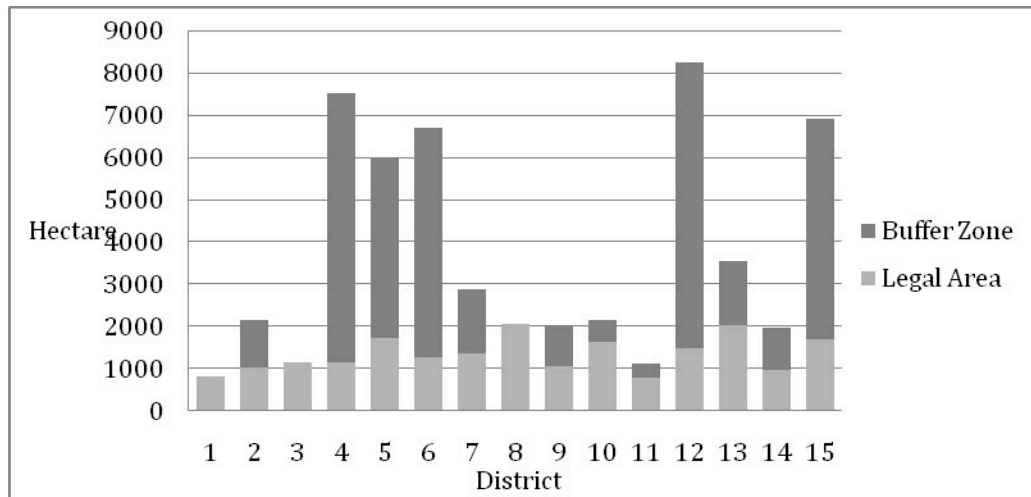
- Government tax
- Private tax
- The income/services of profit institutions
- The municipality assets and liabilities
- State financial aid
- Aid donations by individuals and private institutions.

Recently Isfahan municipality has had both positive and negative consequences for heritage and, of course, plays an essential role for city development and heritage conservation due to their own area divisions or specific district. According to Iran Census Data (2012) the area divisions and the population of Isfahan city in the percentage of the country and province is shown in Table 5.2.

Name	Area (km2)	Population
Country	1628771	75,149,669
Province	107018	4,879,312
County	15706	2,174,172
City	550	1,908,968
City/Province	0.5%	39.1%
City/Country	0.03%	2.54%

**Table 5.2 The area divisions, the population of Isfahan in the percentage of the country**  
Source: Iran Census Data 2012

The city is divided into 15 districts, including a buffer zone and legal land area (see Figure 5.7).



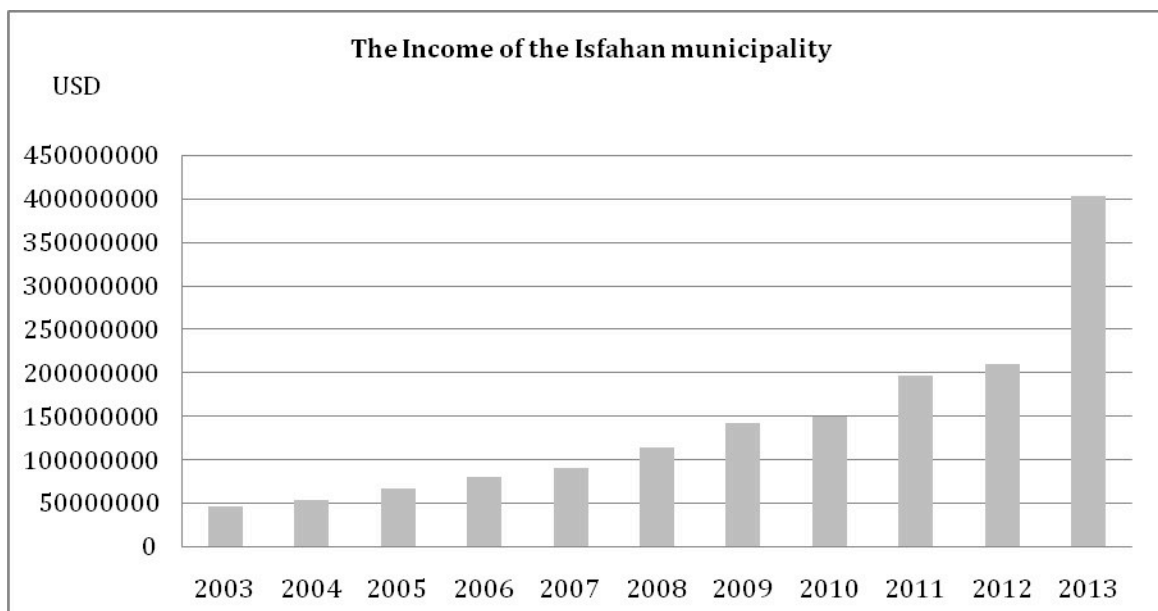
**Figure 5.7 The 15 district divisions: buffer zone and legal land in Isfahan**  
Source: Iran Census Data 2012

Today the organizational chart of the Isfahan municipality includes 15 districts, 17 organizations, 8 deputies and 4 management faculties (see Table 5.3).

District	Organizations	Deputies	Management Faculties
1	Fire	Administrative and Financial	Public Relations Manager
2	Engine Service	Planning, Research and Information Technology	Involvement and Investment Management
3	Urban Train	Urban Civil	Historical, Cultural and Religious Cemetery
4	Jobs and Field Work	Transport and Traffic	Plan for National Park of Najvan
5	Renovation and Restoration Organization	Urban Planning and Architecture	-
6	Waste	Public Service	-
7	Management Information Communication Technology	Socio-Cultural	-
8	Transport	State Coordination of Districts and Organizations	-
9	Cemetery	-	-
10	Terminal	-	-
11	Civil	-	-
12	Taxi	-	-
13	Design and Plan	-	-
14	Bus	-	-
15	Cultural and Recreational	-	-
16	Beautification	-	-
17	Parks and Green Space	-	-

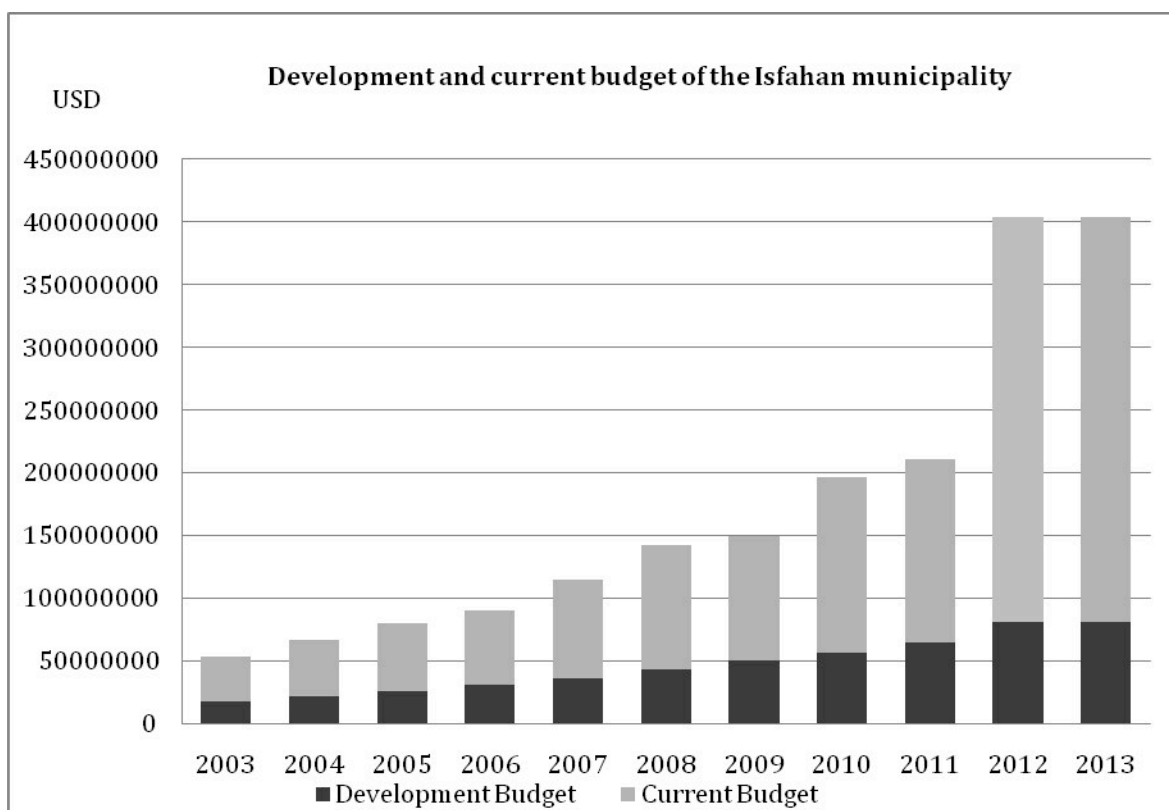
**Table 5. 3 The organizational chart of the Isfahan municipality**  
Source: Isfahan.ir [Accessed October 2015]

The income, development budget and current budget of the Isfahan municipality from 2003 to 2013 are shown in Figure 5.8 and Figure 5.9.



**Figure 5.8 The Income of the Isfahan municipality (2003-2013)**

Source: Iran Census Data 2012

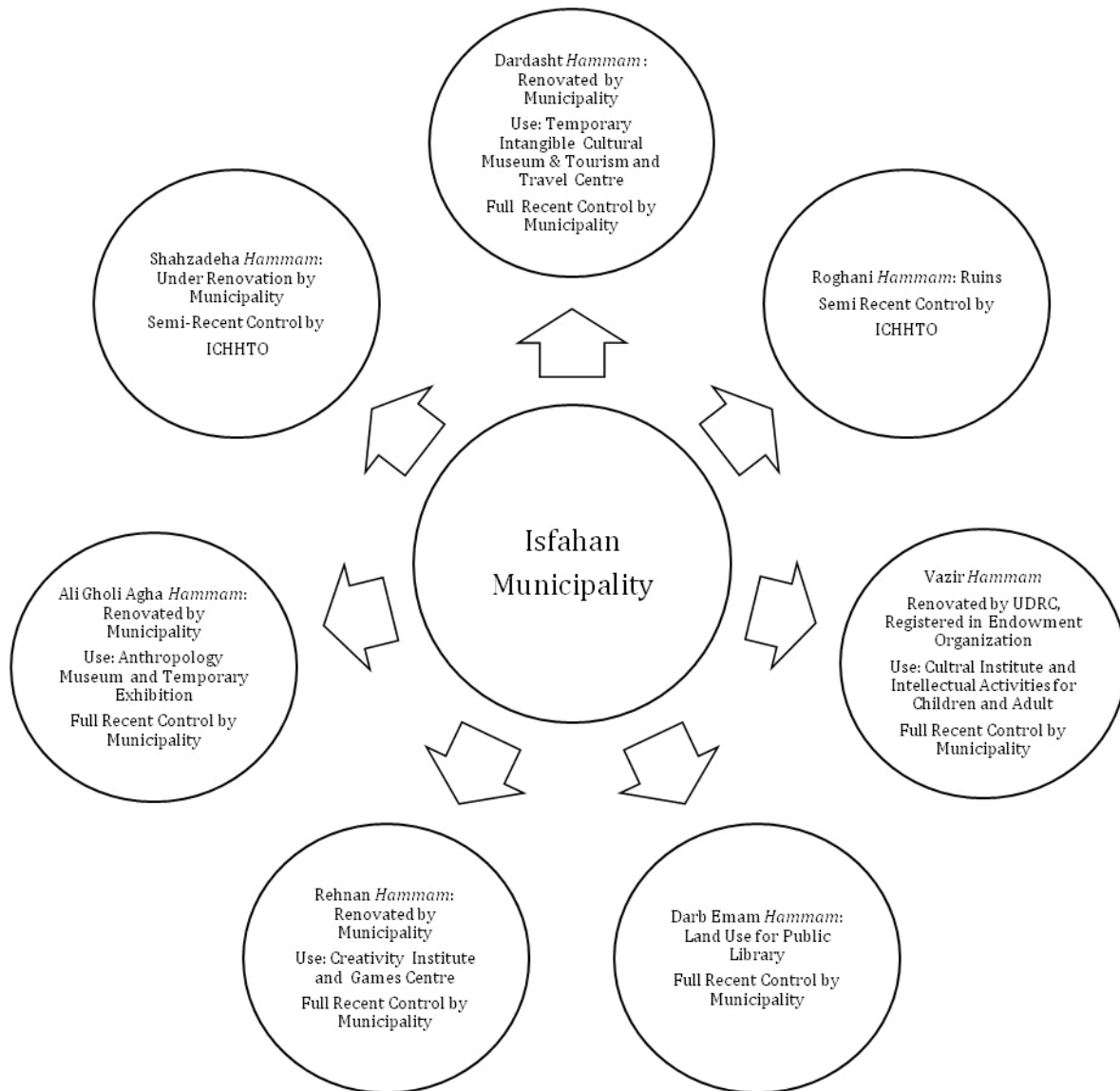


**Figure 5.9 Development and current budget of the Isfahan municipality (2003-2013)**

Source: Iran Census Data 2012



Consequently the Isfahan municipality plays a crucial role in the conservation, renovation and supervision of several historical *hammams* in the city by means of four organizations. Thus the 'Renovation and Restoration Organization' is one of the principle organizations in the Isfahan municipality in this field. On top of that the 'Beautification Organization' and the 'Design/Plan Organization' and the 'Cultural and Recreational Organization' are a big support for the 'Renovation and Restoration Organization' in the city, particularly for heritage decisions including historical *hammams* in the city. However, in October 2014, seven *hammans* registered in ICHHTO came under semi or full supervision of the Isfahan municipality. These seven *hammans* and their current conditions are shown in Figure 5.10.



**Figure 5.10 Historical hammams and Isfahan municipality (2010-2015)**

Source: Author 2015

### 5.4.1.3 *Urban Development and Revitalization Company*

This section is mainly based on documents, brochures and one booklet of the 'Urban Development and Revitalization Company (UDRC)' in the city of Isfahan [Accessed March 2014]. Additionally, an interview was carried out in March 2014 with Mr Geravand, the Head of the UDRC in Isfahan city. This helped to better understand the historical background and current responsibilities of the UDRC in order to revive the old districts, quarters or heritage conservation as well as historical *hammams* in the city. Unlike the two organizations above (see ICHHTO and municipality), the UDRC does not have a long history in Iran.

The former 'Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (MHUD)' established national regeneration companies (UDRCs) in 1997, to co-ordinate the rehabilitation, regeneration or redevelopment of historical districts, quarters and heritage revival in historical Iranian cities. These helped state organizations and provided new perspectives for the revival of old historical buildings and neighbouring areas suffering from urban decay as well as support initiative plans for sustainable development. From 1997 to 1999 UDRCs attempted to develop their own policy, legal and regulatory framework and improved technical and financial resources. According to the booklet of the UDRC in Isfahan city, the key benefit and strategies of the UDRC in the period 1997 to 1999 are [Accessed March 2014]:

- Avoiding failure and reducing risk in large scale e-government projects
- Having direct involvement for the effectiveness of urban plans in limiting development in a longstanding and distant area
- Co-operating with public-private partnerships.

However, in 2000 there was a growing interest in the decentralization of power from the central government to subordinate companies, devolution of responsibilities to municipalities, and reducing the size of the public sector through

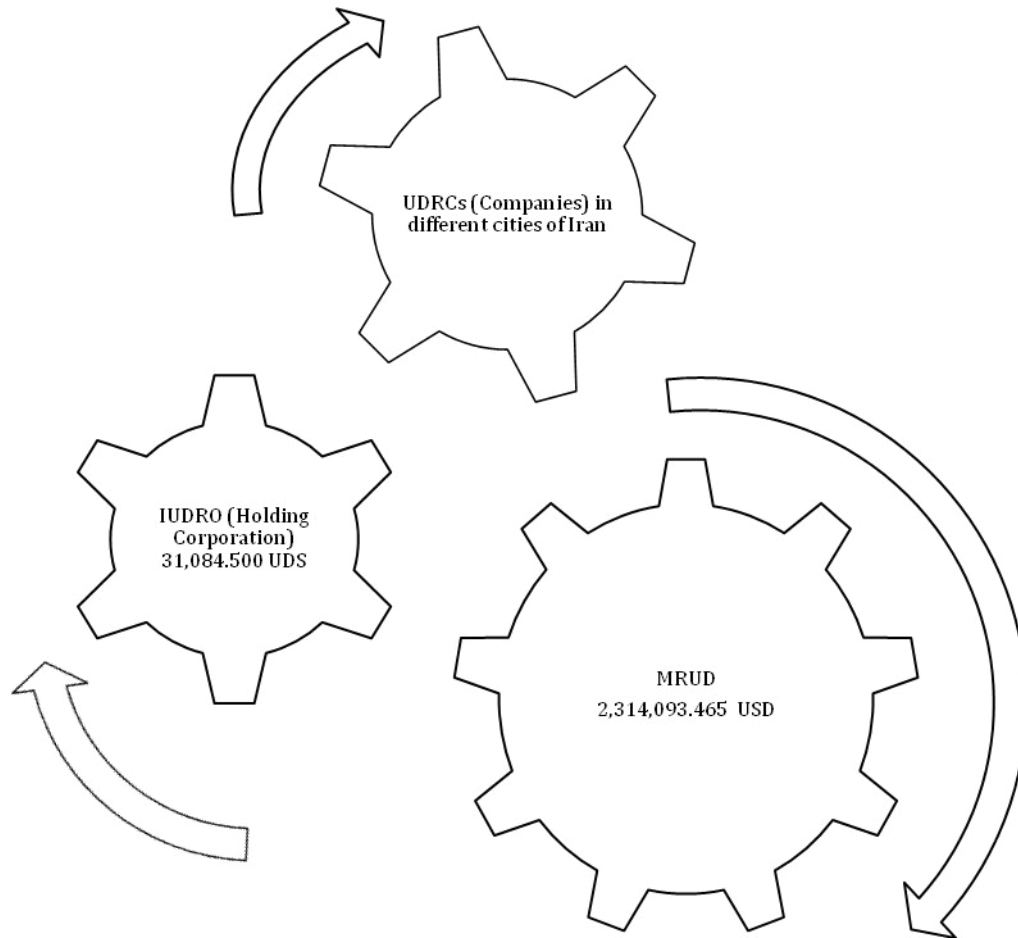
privatization based on the “Third Five Years National Development Plan”<sup>25</sup> from 1999 to 2004. Hence the first effective step achieved towards the empowerment and regulation of the UDRC. Moreover the ‘Fourth Five Years National Development Plan’ from 2005 to 2010 and the ‘Fifth Five Years National Development Plan’ from 2010 to 2015 also provided an effective perspective for implementation and revival of urban distressed areas in many historical Iranian cities. Consequently the UDRC started to develop new strategies for future plans and programmes such as (for more detail information see Appendix 1):

- The regeneration of urban distressed areas
- The pivotal principles for rehabilitation of urban distressed areas
- Enabling and Regularizing of Informal Settlements.

However, in June 2011 the ‘Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (MHUD)’ and the ‘Ministry of Roads and Transportation (MRT)’ were merged and replaced by the ‘Ministry of Road and Urban Development (MRUD)’. Consequently MRUD established the new organization under the name of the ‘Iranian Urban Development and Revitalization Organization (IUDR)’ and all UDRCs were employed under the supervision of MRUD. So most UDRCs in different cities were established as a public joint stock company and spread all over the country. According to the last news from a research centre in *Majles* (Accessed January 2015), the proposed budget of the ‘Iranian Urban Development and Revitalization Organization (IUDRO)’ for the upcoming new Iranian year (March 2014-March 2015), which is supported by MRUD, has been shown as the following (see Figure 5.11).

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<sup>25</sup> Iran’s first Five-Year economical, social and cultural development plan was prepared after the end of the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988) and was implemented during the period 1989-1993. The fourth (2005-2010) and fifth (2011-2015) development plans are targeting Iran vision to 2025. By the time the third (1999-2004) development plan was adopted and often the establishment of seven regional regeneration companies, the creation of the co-ordinating committee in each province, and the delegation of authority in to local managers, were the outcomes of the decentralization policy of the plan in this period (Daftary 1973).



**Figure 5.11 Proposed budget for IUDRO and UDRCs by MRUD in 2015**  
 Source: Islamic Parliament Research Centre (*Majles*) January 2015

Focusing on Isfahan city, the UDRC in the Isfahan province operated as a private joint stock company from 1997 to 2005. For implementation of state policy, Islamic parliament, *Majles*, approved on the 15<sup>th</sup> February 2005: All UDRCs change to regional public joint stock companies. Then the UDRC in Isfahan city with public joint stock took its own authority to supervise the central region of Isfahan city including: Aran Bid Gol, Khomeini Shahr, Khorasgan, Kashan, Morche Khort, Naen and Natanz city. Today the company is mainly responsible for the revival of the historic quarters and attempts to keep the original historical identity of the city with their traditional setting and historical features. Based on the available written documents and brochures in the UDRC Isfahan office (March 2014) the following

issues provide the lack of attention to the revival of historical quarters in Isfahan city:

- Lack of efficiency reduction in a heritage context compared with the efficiency of other urban texture.
- Urban wear and lack of residents' outlook in urban planning and development.
- Destruction of the economic structure from within, incessantly destroying the old one.
- Losing the city collective activities in the urban context affecting their activities of daily living and mobility.
- Social vulnerability resulting in the lack of interest in dwelling in the urban context.
- Lack of development structure for a heritage and historical property registration and land information system
- Migration of poor villagers to the urban context leading to slum dwelling and a sense of not belonging to the environment.
- City installations and lack of repairing systems and updating.

Over the last decade the UDRC in Isfahan city has been involved with several projects of historical *hammams* including three registered historical *hammams* in ICHHTO and several non-registered *hammams* in historical parts of the city. According to Farsnews on the 10<sup>th</sup> June 2013 around 731,400.00 USD budget was dedicated to the UDRC in Isfahan city to rehabilitate four historical houses (Badi Al Sanaye, Habib Abadi, Madani and Azar) and one historical *hammam*: Ghazi *hammam*. Moreover, the current condition and recent functionality of three historical *hammams* under the supervision of the UDRC in Isfahan is shown in Figure 5.12.

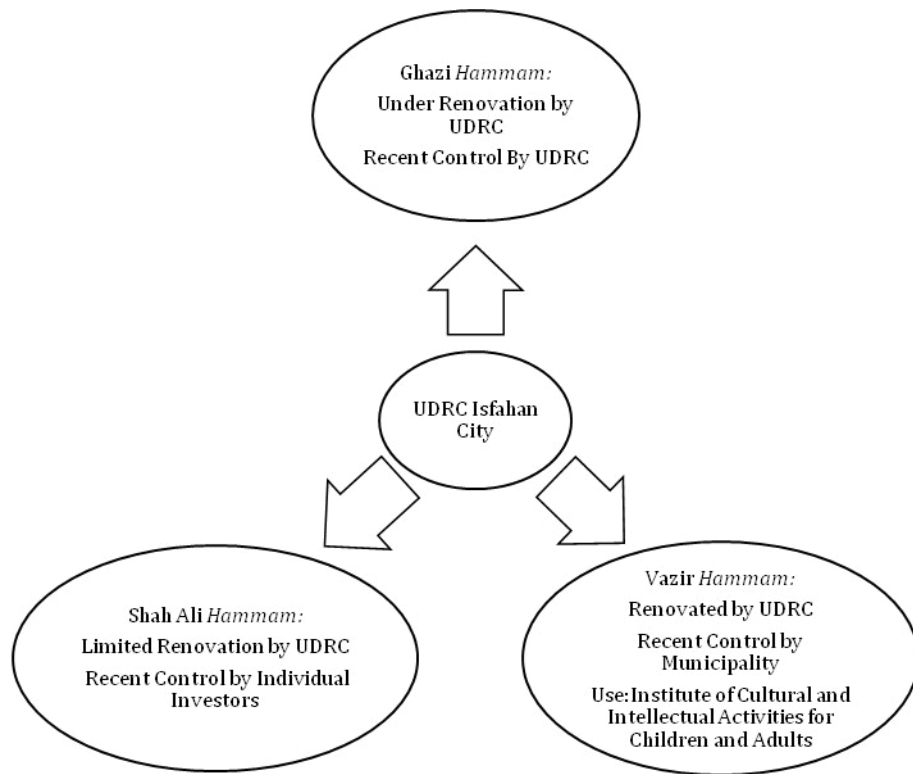


Figure 5.12 Historical *hammams* and the UDRC (2010-2015)  
Source: Author 2015

#### 5.4.1.4 Organization for *Waqf* and Charitable Affairs

Hennigan (2004) argued that *waqf* is partially, or even entirely descended from pre-Islamic practices and legal doctrines. Stibbard et al. (2012) also argued that in establishing jurisprudence for the basis of *waqf*, Muslim scholars place much weight on the early Islamic period in the 7<sup>th</sup> Century. So during the first two centuries of the Muslim era (7<sup>th</sup> -8<sup>th</sup> Centuries), after the Arab conquest of Iran, the development of *waqf* becomes popular in Iran (Sepanta 1967). According to Sepanta (1967) *waqf* mainly discovered its remarkable role in the *Buyid*<sup>26</sup> dynasty and the *Seljuq*<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> The *Buyid* dynasty (934–1062 AD) was a Shia Muslim dynasty which originated in Lahijan, Dailam and coupled with the rise of other Iranian dynasties in the region after the Islamic invasion of Persia.

dynasty due to the existing written *waqf* document in Iran. Lately the development of a *waqf* in the *Safavid* dynasty (1502-1736) confirmed the importance of examining the development of *waqf* in the historical context and exposed the ways in which the institution is intertwined with, and influenced by, the different facets of the social reality of *waqf* (McChesney 2014). However, the constitutional revolution from 1905 to 1909 and the Islamic Revolution in 1979 presented Iran with the main function of the *waqf* institution in the urban context and a mechanism of integration on different levels. The constitutional revolution gave a more active role to official laws, left a strong influence and frameworks in the process of running administrative affairs on *waqf* matters such as the 'Ministry of Education, Endowment (*waqf*), and Fine Arts'. Lutfi et al. (2008) believe that the autocratic rulers in Iran continued their arbitrary interventions and diverted the praiseworthy practice of *waqf* from its right path through improper legislation. Thus the victory of the Islamic Revolution in 1979 had a great influence on the development of serious *waqf* practices as well as related organizational development. According to Lutfi et al. (2008) in order to avoid the injustice of *waqf* properties and their protection in the Iran pre-revolutionary period, Imam Khomeini, the founder and leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran issued a historic decree in 1979:

*Muslims should write their deeds for waqf, the waqf system should survive as they were in the past, to be eternal and obviously waqf will play a vital role in the future of Iran.*

(Quoted by: Imam Khomeini, 1979)

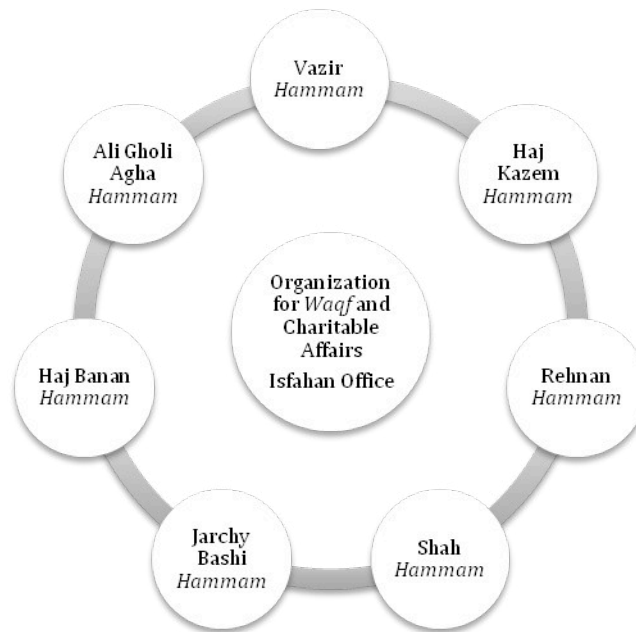
Consequently the organization of '*Hajj, Waqf and Charitable*' was established on the 24<sup>th</sup> September 1984. From 1991 onwards, all *Hajj* activities were transferred to the 'Organization of *Hajj* and Pilgrimage' under the authority of the "Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance" and became an independence organization. Since 1991 the 'Organization for *Waqf* and Charitable Affairs' works under the control and direct

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<sup>27</sup> The *Seljuq* dynasty (1035-1157 AD) was a Turkish Sunni Muslim dynasty that gradually adopted Persian culture and contributed to the Turko-Persian tradition in medieval West and Central Asia.



supervision of Iran's Supreme Leader, Sayyed Ali Khamenei. Today the various aims of *waqf* practices by *waiif*, the person who creates *waqf*, must be controlled under the supervision of the 'Organization for *Waqf* and Charitable Affairs'. *Waqf* practices still show the significant needs and the requirements of society, which are mainly related to religious beliefs as well as social and cultural activities and show the variety of *waqf* functionalities. *Hammams* in Isfahan are strongly connected with *waqf* practices especially in the past (see Chapter 3). The income of *hammams* is usually used for the maintenance of neighbouring mosques and they are intertwined with each other. According to the list of the 'Organization for *Waqf* and Charitable Affairs' the *waqf* deeds of seven existing historical *hammams* in ICHHTO are still available in 'Organization for *Waqf* and Charitable Affairs' [Accessed: October 2014]. The historical *hammams* were endowed for special purposes and different activities by *waiif*'s in the past (see Figure 5.13 and Table 5.4). All historical *hammams* or even *hammams* without historical values were *waqf*. However, not all relevant *waqf* documents are available in the Isfahan office of the 'Organization for *Waqf* and Charitable Affairs' [Accessed: October 2014] (see 24 *waqf hammams* in Appendix 2).



**Figure 5.13 Historical *hammams* in the 'Organization for *waqf* and Charitable Affairs'**  
Source: Organization for *Waqf* and Charitable Affairs, Isfahan Office [Accessed: October 2014]

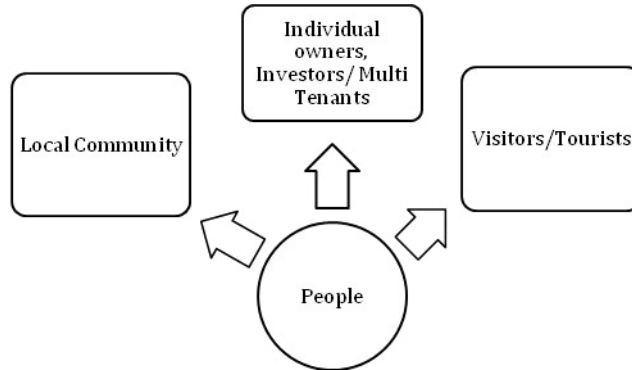
Name: <i>Hammam</i>	<i>Waqf Purpose</i>	Endower, <i>Waif</i> and Date of Endowment
Haj Banan	<i>Hammam</i> expenses, monthly net income must be used by the Zolamat mosque, lighting condolence mourning and for passion play on the tragic fate of Hussein Imam.	Haj Mirza Khalil Khan Banan al-Saltaneh: 24 November 1915
Haj Kazem	<i>Hammam</i> expenses, public finance help to support charity.	Document not available: 28 August 1984
Shah	<i>Hammam</i> expenses, half of the income for guardian's salary. Rest of income must be used to buy candles each year for the Imam Ali holy shrine in Najaf, Iraq. Organizing mourning ceremony 10 times a year and the rest of the income can be shared among the poor.	Mohammad Sadegh Tajer (Haji Natanzi) the son of Mohammad Ebrahim: June 1871
Jarchy Bashi	Hakim Mosque expenses such as energy costs, repair costs and guardian's salary.	Document not available: 6 December 1984
Vazir	<i>Hammam</i> expenses, financial support for institute people.	Document not available: 24 November 1984
Rehnan	Complex endowment including village, mosque, <i>hammam</i> : <i>Hammam</i> expenses, yearly income of complex must be used for <i>hammam</i> renovation.	Haj Ali the son of Haj Mohammad Hasan Renani 20 October 1919
Ali Gholi Agha	Complex endowment including Village, mosque, <i>hammam</i> and shops. Ali Gholi Agha complex should function always and the income must be used for a variety of purposes: buildings expenses, religious lessons, pilgrimage expenses such as clergy salary, mourning ceremony etc.	Ali Gholi Agha 27 May 1713

**Table 5.4 The existing document and *waqf* purposes for historical *hammams* in Isfahan**  
Source: "Organization for *Waqf* and Charitable Affairs" Isfahan Office [Accessed: October 2014]

### 5.4.2 People

The influence of people on heritage conditions such as historical *hammams* form critical issues in contemporary Iran as well as Isfahan. According to Britton and Torvinen (2013) the traditional stakeholder viewpoint was normally based on economics and ignored other ways in which people can also relate to organization. Parker and Craig (2008:34) believe that, "Assessment of the importance of stakeholders and key players, and consequently how they should be looked after, is dependent upon our perceptions of them". People in Isfahan usually play a significant role within the context of heritage and, of course, historical *hammams*, their maintenance, conservation, functionalities or even heritage devastation. This section attempts to categorize people into three different groups including the "local community, individual owners or investors/multi tenants and visitors/tourists"

who can be influenced by, or can influence historical *hammams* in the contemporary city (see Figure 5.14).



**Figure 5.14 People classifications and historical *hammams* in Isfahan**  
Source: Author 2015

### *5.4.2.1 Local Community*

The involvement of local community is crucial for heritage revival to achieve successful conservation, renovation or any kind of development. However, in some cases the local community attempts to reach its own desired goals by heritage devastation or expressing displeasure at the current condition of heritage in order to avoid social problems that it faces daily. Alexander (2012) believes that some of the local community benefits in historical sites or heritage are obvious and include opportunities such as recreational activities or local business and other less noticeable benefits including the protection and maintenance of spiritual and cultural values associated with heritage or its functionality. Smith (1981 as cited in Tosun 2000) argues the interest of the citizen in participating in government decision-making and the demand for direct participation in the development process have emerged due to the needs of government itself, as a response to community action. Additionally the Ramsar Convention Bureau (2000 as cited in Alexander 2012:45) studies the advisable involvement of local and indigenous people of Iran in a management partnership when:

- “The active commitment and collaboration of stakeholders are essential for the management of a site, for example, when the site is inhabited or privately owned
- Access to the site is essential for local livelihood, security and cultural heritage
- Local people express a strong interest in being involved in management. Local stakeholders have historically enjoyed customary/legal rights over the site
- Local interests are strongly affected by the way in which the site is managed”.

*Hammams* in the contemporary city of Isfahan provide diverse examples of maintenance, revival or destruction. The majority of them either with or without historical value became less useful over time and the local community is likely to participate in a passive, rather than an active manner for their future maintenance. Additionally, the same local community shows their demonstrative dissatisfaction or in some cases ignorance to the *hammams'* values as well as to the actions conducted by key authorities. In relation to Khosrow Agha and Ghazi *hammams*, for instance, the local community had different behaviours. In other words community interest and involvement in Khosrow Agha and Ghazi *hammam* play dissimilar roles in different historical periods and reflect distinctive cultural perspectives. The association between the demolition of the Ghazi *hammam* and local community raises attention and this finally caused the *hammam* renovation in recent years. Unfavorably, the status of Khosrow Agha *hammam*, the current heritage in ruins in the city, which has been seriously impaired by the local community and the members of key state organizations particularly since 1979, is still ambivalent. Consequently Chapter 6 attempts to analyze these two historical *hammams* in detail and discusses the role of local community in their current condition.

### 5.4.2.2 *Individual Owners, Investors and Multi Tenants*

Heritage ownership is an essential issue and shapes heritage management, conservation or tourism development. According to Howard (2003) ownership is one of the vital concepts in the field of modern management. Howard (2003:7) explains, “modern management practice frequently uses ‘ownership’ to describe the feeling of responsibility for a policy by the group, without which the policy is likely to fail”. He also added, “this usage is very similar in heritage matters, where either group try to persuade others to take ownership of a heritage, or they themselves aspire to such ‘ownership’, even, perhaps especially, when there is no legal basis for that ownership” (Howard 2003:7). Individual owners, investors or multi-tenants of heritage such as those of historical *hammams* play an important role in Isfahan. In some cases the relationships between the individual owners/investors or multi tenants with the state are not straightforward, and the conflict between them is normally driven by personal interest. ICHHTO has the authority and official right to control all national heritage assets in Iran, but in some cases individual owners/investors or multi-tenants try to set up their ownership. Correspondence between them (see the individual owners/investors or multi - tenants and ICHHTO) basically depends on economic efforts for procurement strategy, financial or technical support. Otherwise, there are several challenges and problems facing the heritage sites in the city. For instance while visiting historical *hammams* in Isfahan city during the year (2010-2015), I noticed four historical *hammams* have their own individual owners, investors and multi-tenants with poor internal control or technical and financial support from ICHHTO (Janat, Shah Ali, Jarchy Bashi and Sheikh Al Islam *hammams*). Today they bring different conditions and functionalities; perceived as an imminent physical threat (see Figure 5.15). Additionally individual investors take part in development activities or heritage investment including historical *hammams*. The involvement of individual investors can include either taking advantage of the heritage revival fund to boost neglected

national heritage assets or suffering from a series of disadvantages, including lack of technical expertise, new functionality and others by individuals. A remarkable number of heritage sites as well as two historical *hammams* came under the control of individual investors or the private sector. The two historical *hammams* with the current condition and functionalities are shown in Figure 5.16.

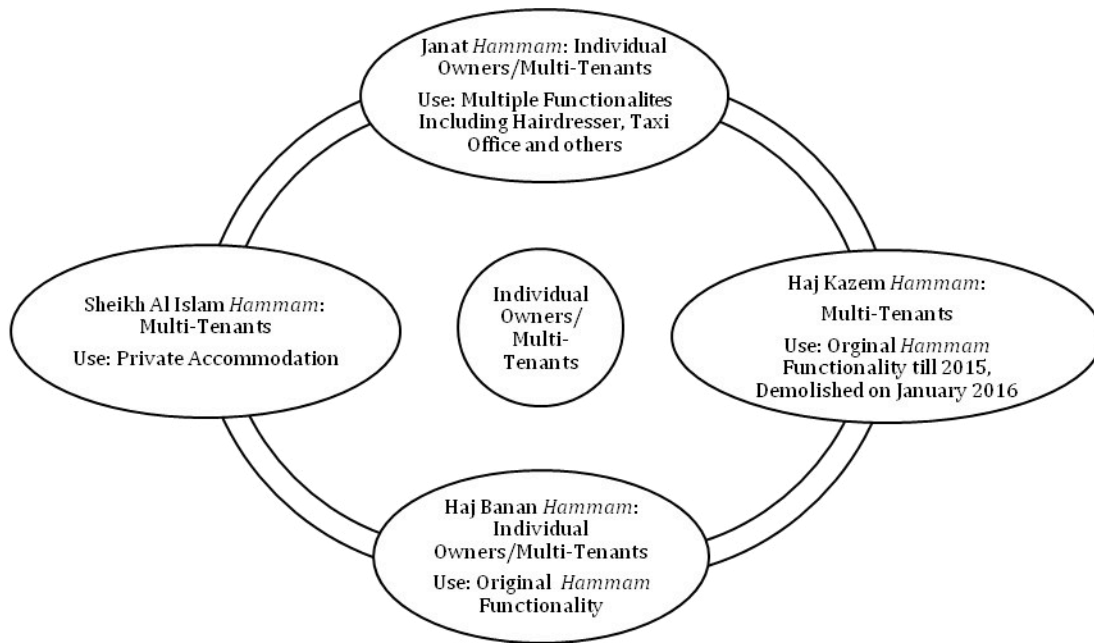


Figure 5.15 Historical *hammams*, individual owners- multi-tenants (2010-2015)  
Source: Author 2015

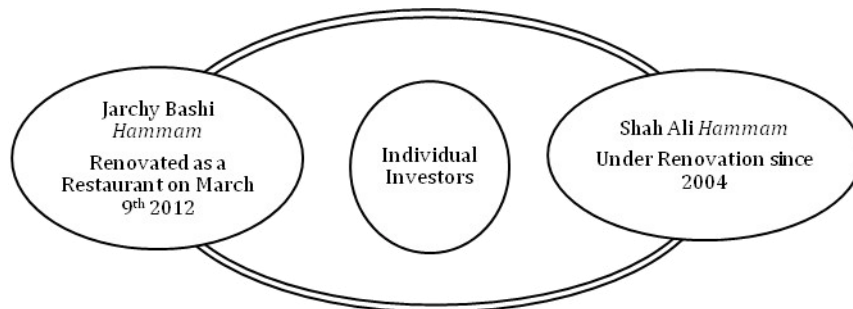


Figure 5.16 Historical *hammams* and individual investors (2010-2015)  
Source: Author 2015

### 5.4.2.3 Visitors/Tourists

Tourists are also considered to be one of the main key stakeholders in heritage. Moreover, all the above stakeholders have different influences in the favour or disfavour of tourist interest. Recently tourists are associated directly or indirectly with heritage conservation and decision-making processes in Iran. International or domestic visitors and local users are differently linked in to the matters of several historical *hammams* in Isfahan city (see Figure 5.16). Visitors also affect the scope and trajectory of the future plans for the historical *hammams* in the contemporary city. From a multi-dimensional point of view, the renovation and reuse of a few historical *hammams* for tourism purposes plays a significant role in attracting tourists, and this creation by the tourism industry encourages the domestic visitors or inhabitants of those destinations to recognize a picture of themselves culturally and economically in the contemporary city. “The conversion of heritage into a tourist product implies that its cultural value is transformed into a commercial value” (Dahles 2013:25). According to Kalman (2014:237) “Finding a new use depends on an analysis of heritage value and physical compatibility with the historic place and its likeness to provide a lasting, new life for the historic place”. Kalman (2014) added if maintaining the original use leads to the removal or significant alteration of character-defining elements, the owners and users might need to consider a compatible new use for the historic place. Thus some ideas not only discuss the role of historical *hammams*, their participation in tourism development, management, the singularities of the tourism industry, planning and the relationship between socio-economic benefits, but also attempt to discover if the current use, or the method of conservation by related stakeholders does not maintain the buildings. Additionally, some ideas show the key stakeholders need to consider a compatible new use for the historical *hammams*. The following figure attempts to display different types of visitors to historical *hammams* in the contemporary city (see Figure 5.17).

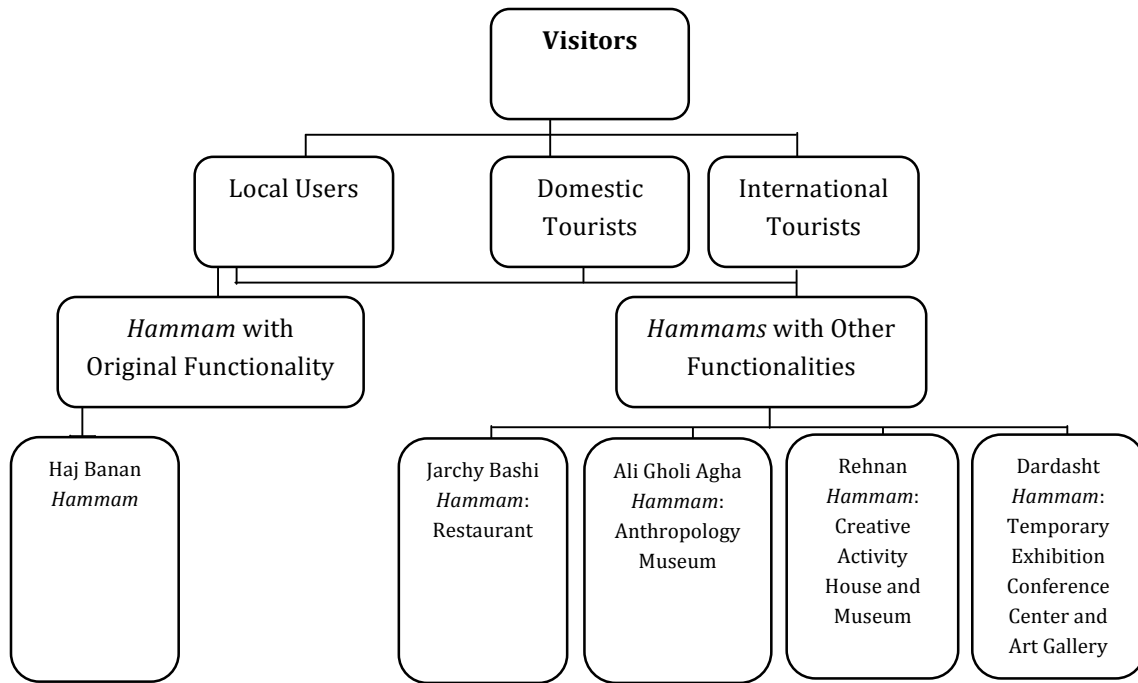


Figure 5.17 Historical *hammams* and visitors to Isfahan (2010-2015)

Source: Author 2015

With the focus on the above figure, especially Ali Gholi Agha *hammam* which is one of the most important tourist attractions in Isfahan city and perhaps one of the few and the most well-known historical *hammams* in Isfahan. The *hammam* is the first registered *hammam* in ICHHTO in Isfahan city since 1934. The *hammam* is properly conserved and was opened as an anthropology museum in Spring 2005 onwards for displaying traditional *hammam* activities, architectural features, art and decoration in the *hammam* in the contemporary city. The museum is a static representation of traditional scenes of the *hammam* in *Safavid* times, displaying men in massage, smoking *Nargilah* or other social elements in *hammam Sarbineh*. The architecture, painted tiles, carved stucco domes, and wonderfully decorated domes also represent the spiritual elements of Islamic art. In the *Garmkhaneh* visitors can read information in Farsi and English on a large panel, and buy a CD with a detailed account of the *hammam* and a virtual 3D visit. The *hammam* is one of the key tourist attractions that make up the tourist circuit in Isfahan. The *hammam* attracts thousands of visitors including local visitors, domestic or international tourists every year (see Appendix 3).



The transformation of the three historical *hammams* for tourism purposes in Isfahan (Figure 5.16), including an anthropology museum (Ali Gholi Agha *hammam*), recently opened a temporary exhibition, conference centre and art gallery (Dardasht *hammam*) and creativity house-museum (Rehnan *hammam*), providing well-known examples of different types of visitors to historical *hammams* in contemporary Isfahan. Additionally, Jarchy Bashi *hammam* is also being re-used as a restaurant and teahouse. While occasionally visiting historical *hammams* during the years (2012-2015), Jarchy Bashi *hammam* deals with tourist motivation to visit *hammam* and restaurant simultaneously. Besides, tourism represents one of the interesting fields to explore in promoting the historical *hammams* in contemporary Isfahan. Unfortunately, the rest of the historical *hammams* are neither properly conserved nor visitable for tourism purposes.

## 5.5 Summary

This chapter aimed at providing an overview of the common features of historical *hammams* in Iran and discussed the structure and *hammams'* transformation throughout the history of the country. The chapter developed a wide range of historical, traditional activities, political and religious elements of *hammams* in history. Additionally, the chapter provided how stakeholders, including organizations and people, impose not only on the way of management; conservation and indicating new heritage functionality, but also have influence on the demolition of the historical *hammams* in contemporary city of Isfahan. The chapter shaped the structures of the key stakeholders (see organizations and people) and made a connection between the historical *hammams* and key stakeholders in the contemporary city of Isfahan. However, the stakeholders reflect an instrumental approach, suggesting concern over the financial performance, development and historical *hammams'* conservation support. Thus the study disclosed divergent views from different stakeholders and their connection to the recent condition of historical *hammams* in Isfahan. This work developed how different stakeholders contributed to the supervision of historical sites and how they are connected to each

other. Moreover, the economic ties and the relationship between key stakeholders in many ways also expressed the main critical issues due to the current condition of historical *hammams* in the city. According to Eriksen (2014:20) “The contemporary focus on heritage, commemorations, memorials and so on thus may be seen as the expression of a specific relationship between past and present, characteristic of our time”. She also argues, “correspondingly, the developments of memory and heritage studies as academic fields are attempts at coming to terms with these ways of living with the past and of understanding the cultural experience of temporality that lies behind it” (2014:20). The idea behind this chapter also presented the role of key stakeholders, which can assign value to existing historical *hammams* in the contemporary city. The analysis of key stakeholders and their connection with historic *hammams* can be used to advance the conservation process, providing public value, developing traditional activities for tourist attraction and finding new functions for historical *hammams*. Additionally, it is necessary to have an agenda for research, education, and practice around stakeholder identification and investigate their necessary role in heritage conservation and new heritage functionalities.



## ***Chapter 6***

### ***Hammams in Isfahan: Three Case Studies***



## 6.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to analyze three case studies of historical *hammams* (Khosrow Agha, Dardasht and Ghazi *hammam*) in Isfahan city. This analysis will then be linked to the historical background presented in the first part of each section and tied up with the more up-to-date condition of the *hammams*. Thus each case reflects specific methods and analysis of the author's experience in visiting the current condition of the *hammams* and their connection with tourism. The case selection is based on a variety of dimensions that will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

## 6.2 Khosrow Agha Hammam

### 6.2.1 Background

This section focuses on Khosrow Agha *hammam*, one of the important national monuments in the history of Isfahan, which is a recent ruin in the tourist area of the city. The influence of several historical periods and events since the late 19th Century, including modernization (Pahlavid period: 1925-1979), Islamic revolution (1979) and urban development (1990s), led to several episodes of destruction, which have contributed to its now ruined condition. The remaining debris of the *hammam* in the city centre (near Naqsh e Jahan square) is the embodiment of the past, and a physical reminder of what has vanished throughout history by modernization, political issues, revolution and urban development. It also shows the importance of *waqf* property in the city, which revealed a sign of the past's cultural, educational and religious beliefs on sanitation.

Khosrow Agha *hammam* was selected as one of the main case studies in this research for several reasons:

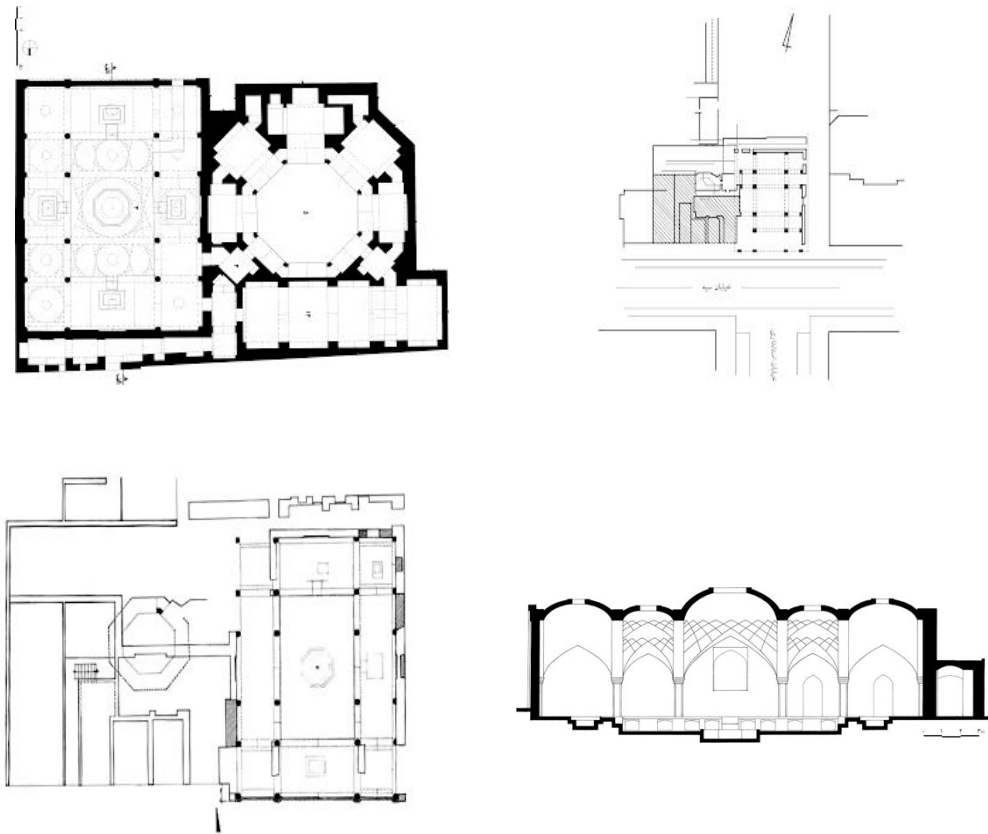
- It has a rich historical background in the tourist area of Isfahan.
- It shows the historical authenticity of Isfahan city.
- It is in a ruined state due to several demolitions since the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century.
- It was mostly demolished in the 1980's, after the revolution, and in 1995 by the Isfahan municipality due to the urban development authorities of Iran in the 1990's.
- Today it is under the authority of the ICHHTO.

Khosrow Agha *hammam* was registered as a national monument<sup>28</sup> on the 23<sup>th</sup> July, 1974. Ayatollah Zadeh Shirazi (1995) noted the *hammam* was built in July 1698 (Moharam 1110 A.H) based upon on the epigraphy in the *Hammam Sarbineh*. The *hammam* was built by Khosrow Agha, a brother of Ali Gholi Agha within the *bazaar* complex building with similar architecture to that of the Safavid dynasty in the mid 17<sup>th</sup> Century. Jenab (1924) shows how the 920 square metres includes the main structural elements such as the *Sarbineh*, *Garm Khaneh*, *Miyandar* and *Chal Hose* (see Figures 6.1 and 6.2). Despite the registration of the *hammam* as an Iranian national monument in 1974, it is presently no more than a Safavid ruin (1501 to 1722). It was badly demolished twice, once in 1980; after the Islamic revolution and then again in the mid-1990s; during Hashemi-Rafsanjani's presidency. Based on historical documents the *hammam* was one of the biggest, most important and beautiful monuments of the Safavid period in Isfahan city (Lotfi and Masjedi 2014). Despite Ali Gholi Agha *hammam*<sup>29</sup> being renovated and being one of the main tourist attractions of the city, Khosrow Agha lost its physical identity and it has become a ruin.

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<sup>28</sup> ICHHTO registration number: 976.

<sup>29</sup> Ali Gholi Agha *hammam*, which was renovated as first *hammam* museum in Isfahan since 18th May 2004.



**Figure 6.1** Khosrow Agha *hammam*: maps and images  
Source: Courtesy of ICHHTO 2015





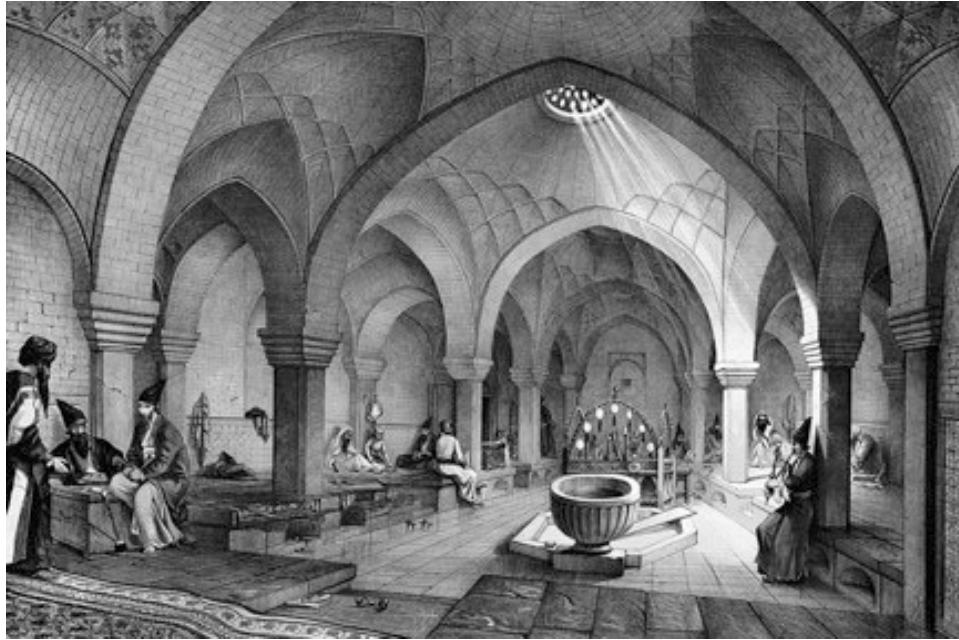
**Figure 6. 2 Khosrow Agha *hammam*: old photographs**  
Source: Courtesy of ICHHTO 2015

### 6.2.2 Methodology

This section investigates the important historical elements of Khosrow Agha *hammam* in Isfahan, which was built in mid 17<sup>th</sup> Century during the Safavid period. It mainly focuses on news articles and archival documents from the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century onwards, especially covering the destruction of several *hammams*. Reviews of news article included both electronic (i.e. Internet-based) and hard copy issues of newspapers, which were available from ICHHTO. In addition, interviews and informal conversations with key people who know the history and background of the *hammam* in ICHHTO, the municipality; Revitalization and Restoration Organization; artists and article authors, beside the related documents which identify how the *hammam* came to be in a state of ruin from the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century onwards and what are the multi-dimensional reasons behind that.

### 6.2.3 Discussion

This section starts to assert the historical and cultural value of Khosrow Agha *hammam* in the history of Isfahan. It also attempts to reveal the reasons behind the *hammam's* demolition in different historical periods and discusses its present circumstances as a ruin in the city today. It also moves towards a discussion and ideas on ruins, which is leading to the *hammam* conservation and management in the city. The historical literature emphasizes the beauty, the importance of location and the political factors of Khosrow Agha *hammam* in the mid 17<sup>th</sup> Century. The *hammam* was located to the north of Chahar Hoz *Meidan* on the west side of Naqsh-e Jahan Square (Al Isfahani, 1921-1924). According to Ayatollah Zadeh Shirazi (1995) there are six historical deeds, which show the important location of the Khosrow Agha *hammam*, the conjunction between the north of Chahar Hoz *Meidan* and Chehel Sotun Palace, west of Naqsh-e Jahan Square and East of the Dolat gate. He also noted the location and desired structure which made the *hammam* an important gathering place for people who worked in the *bazaar*. Khaton Abadi (1973:566) notes: "Khosrow Agha *hammam* has a unique *waqf* purpose as the income of the *hammam* was endowed for writing manuscripts and the popularization of science". Jaber Ansari (1999:217) mentions "Khosrow Agha *hammam* has three unique elements: beautiful architectural features, building stability and vastness in size compared with other *hammams*". Al Isfahani (1921-1924) wrote, "Iran never had the perfect style of *hammam* architecture after Khosrow Agha and Ali Gholi *hammam* in Isfahan and few *hammams* in Ghazvin city". According to Lotfi and Masjedi (2014) the *hammam* was one of the first important historical *hammams* of the Safavid period with architecture which was unique in Isfahan city. In addition to this, in the 1840s the European travellers to Iran, Eugene Flandin (Painter) and Pascal Coste (Architect) showed their interest in the Khosrow Agha *hammam* (Figure 6.3).



**Figure 6.3 Bain Khosrow Agha, Isfahan, Painting by Pascal Coste (1840)**

Source: Wikipedia.com [Accessed November 2015]

Modares (2007) argues that of course European artists and travellers of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century who travelled to the Middle East were either orientalists or on diplomatic missions but their travelling to fulfil political objectives offered a superb opportunity for artists to collect visual information about the cultural and social aspects of its different districts. For instance, Eugene Flandin, an Italian-born artist who lived in Paris, and Pascal Coste, a French artist, were sent to Iran on a mission in 1840 under the rule of Mohammad Shah (ruled 1834-1848). After two and a half years, they returned to France and published a six-volume album on Iran in 1851 (Modares 2007). In addition to this there were only a few Iranian artists who showed any interest in the Khosrow Agha *hammam*, such as Feyzollah Safdarzadeh Haqiqi, an Isfahanian artist, who made three carpets for the *hammam* after the Islamic revolution of Iran. In an interview with Feyzollah Safdarzadeh Haqiqi he mentioned:

*The idea of the carpets dated back before the Islamic revolution of Iran. The pilot design was carried out over a two year period and later three carpets were made at the same time. Two carpets were sold and I still have one in my own house. I will donate the carpet to the Iran Carpet museum in the future. It is clear that the carpet*

*can reveal the only memorial reminder of the most beautiful hammam in Isfahan, which has now disappeared in the city today.*

(Interview, April 2015)

Later, and despite the beautiful inscriptions and the *hammam's* popularity, the historic centres of many Iranian cities as well as Isfahan went through significant transformations under Reza Shah (1925–1941) in the Pahlavid dynasty (Sarmiento and Kazemi 2014). On the other hand “the process of Iran’s modernization during the Pahlavid period (1925-1979) resulted in rapid urbanization, cultural and economic changes ushered in by the appearance of new urban social classes” (Farahi 2012:58). According to Banani (1961) most manifestations of Western influence in Iran today date from the time of Reza Shah and certainly many physical aspects of Westernism are the product of that short period. In addition to this, like many other *hammams* in Iran, up-dating the Khosrow Agha *hammam* into shower baths was carried out in the Pahlavid period. According to Jalalpoor (2014) in 1935 in Isfahan, the *hammams'* rules were announced and one year later in 1936 the *hammams'* owners were ordered to shut down the reservoirs and change them into shower systems which resulted in some of the baths being closed. They also ordered the *hammams'* owners to build an underground piping system and the *Baladiehs'* <sup>30</sup>officials supervised the process of building baths by repetitive visits (Jalalpoor 2014). Nevertheless, the *hammams* gradually lost their significance after baths were installed in Iranian houses (Sharifi and Murayama 2013). This process also had a harmful effect on some historical *hammams*, like Khosrow Agha *hammam*, which lost its significance in the perception of the public and its vitality in city life. In general, the neighbours also played an important role in the maintenance of *hammams* or their destruction from the Pahlavid dynasty onwards. Thus, Khosrow Agha *hammam* was dominated largely by neighbourhood shops in the late Pahlavid

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<sup>30</sup> *Baladiehs* is the old meaning of the municipality in Iran.

dynasty (Sepanta, 2000). According to the Bakhtar-news (December, 1941)<sup>31</sup>, an article by Hossein Fatemi (1941)<sup>32</sup> under the name of “A betrayal traceable” quotes:

*Despite the obvious waqf document of Khosrow Agha hammam, some parts of the hammam are surrounded by neighbours and unfortunately an unknown governmental member took this opportunity to change the name of the hammam and take it as his own property. The evidence showed the waqif<sup>33</sup> who named Khosrow Agha; dedicated the hammam for public usage and the income must be used to publish books and manuscripts. The point is that how Iranian thought could be changed so fast that our predecessors wanted to teach us the waqf process and designation to public usage but recently some people ignored this and pay no attention to those issues. This domination shows us not only that some people forget the concept of Waqf, but also they attempt to grab national assets and govern them.*

(Quoted by Fatemi 1941)

Occupying of *waqf* property by the public or government officials, in part or the whole, without the authority of law in the Pahlavid period shows the modernization and critical lack of attention in the religious domain, which led to the production of a radical space in political and social action. Inglehart and Welzel (2005) believe that modernization goes through different phases, each of which brings distinctive changes in people’s world view. They also explain, “The process of cultural change is not linear. The prevailing direction of change has shifted repeatedly in history” (Inglehart and Welzel 2005:46). Reza Shah in the Pahlavid period ensured that all *waqf* property, which was generally administered by religious leaders, located within city limits, was brought under the jurisdiction of the municipality through a law passed in June 1941 (Banani 1961). Later Mohammad Reza Shah continued his

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<sup>31</sup> Iranian newspaper which was published in Isfahan from 1935 to late 1941.

<sup>32</sup> Hossein Fatemi (10 February 1917 - 10 November 1954) was a scholar, journalist, and famous politician of Iran. He served as Foreign Affairs Minister from 1951 to 1953.

<sup>33</sup> Bequester or the person who endows property.

father's dual ideas of nationalism and the revival of ancient glory on the one hand, and rapid Westernization on the other, but his techniques of control were somewhat different. Muzumdar (2000) argues that Mohammad Reza Shah wanted Iranian cities to have ultra-modern facilities, use the latest technologies and his tendency was to employ western type design for new buildings. During the Pahlavid period in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century, Khosrow Agha *hammam* divisions were carried out by neighbouring shops. Yet, according to an official report by Mr Talaei, the national expert of the technical office at that time, to the Art and Cultural Organization on the 22th August 1973:

*Technical team visited the hammam in August 1973 and reported the main structures of the hammam were still in existence and were sound and healthy. The problem is from wall fans and roof extensions, which are carried by neighbouring shops within different parts of the hammam. It is possible to conserve the hammam by abolishing the adjoining parts. The hammam is occupied and divided by the different neighbouring shops and the name of shops are listed and announced.*

(Ayatollah Zadeh Shirazi 1995:17)

The technical report, which was provided by Mr Talaei, also commented:

*The hammam, with an exceptional Safavid design, special structure and historical value must to be preserved and further renovation needs to be carried out as soon as possible.*

(Ayatollah Zadeh Shirazi 1995:17)

With the effort of the Ministry of Art and Culture the *hammam* was registered as a national heritage site on the 23th July 1974 (Mostafa Zadgan 2006). Blok Bashy an Iranian anthropologist argued that later the *hammam* received renovation funding from the Ministry of Art and Culture in the late Pahlavid dynasty through his efforts in early 1977 (Iran Newspaper December 2014). He also mentioned the *hammam Sarbineh* was renovated as a tea house on the 12<sup>th</sup> October 1977. This was one of the



first *hammams* in Iran which found a new usage as a tea house/coffee shop. There is little in the literature to describe what unique effective, cognitive or physical features of the *hammam* connect its use as a tea house/coffee shop. Matthee (1996) studied the late 1500s in the *Safavid* dynasty in Iran, and argues that coffee and (to a lesser extent) tea soon found their way into the Iranian diet. According to the Iranian newspaper (December 2014), Blok Bashy explained the architecture of the tea house/coffee shop was largely a derivative of the *hammam Sarbineh's* architecture, which in itself was a mixed style of the dressing room and a place for taking tea or coffee and relaxation after bathing. According to Sharifi and Murayama (2013) the social gathering places such as a tea/coffee house and the *hammam* facilitated interaction of multiple social dimensions (commercial, social, political, religious, neighbourly, etc.), as opposed to purely economic interactions. Khosrow Agha *hammam* was used as a teahouse between 1977 and 1979 (ICHHTO 2005). Later, and after the 1979 Iranian Islamic revolution, a group of local people took offense at the current usage (coffee house) under the influence of the Islamic revolution and considered the *hammam* as a sexual, immoral and corrupt place used for unauthorized gatherings and it needed to be demolished, based upon Islamic rules (Sepanta 2000). According to an interview with the head of the listing and buffer zone of Isfahan, Mr Khajoe, who has written some critical news articles about the Khosrow Agha *hammam* and other heritage ruins in ICHHTO:

*The hammam was labeled as a place for sexual immorality after the Islamic revolution (1979) in order to make more space for some local shops. On the other hand some locals attempted to name the hammam as a place of sexual immorality and offense in order to pursue their own goals and later, a bomb blast was carried out in 1980 by an unknown group which further completely demolished the main parts of the hammam (see Figures 6.4 & 6.5). Later the label also facilitated the goals of the municipality for the future business market, e.g. the Hakim Commercial Complex and parking spaces in 1995.*

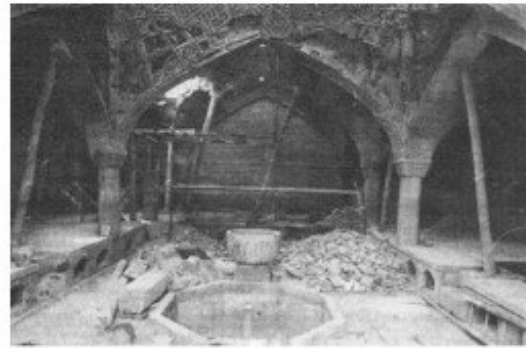
(Interview, March 2015)



**Figure 6.4 The placement of 1979 Islamic revolutionary slogans: Khosrow Agha**

After the bomb attack of 1980 which means "Destruction of immorality and corruption place is the main purpose of Islamic Umma"

Source: Sepanta 2000:87



**Figure 6.5 Khosrow Agha hammam demolition 1980**

Source: Sepanta 2000:81

Perhaps the *hammam* was labelled as a sexual and immoral place because of the history of bathing in the past. William Sanger (2013), a noted historian on the subject, wrote:

*As early as the Augustan era [Rome around the time Jesus Christ was born]...the baths were regarded as little better than houses of prostitution under a responsible name...The early Roman baths, darkness, or, at best, a faint twilight reigned; and besides, not only were the sexes separated, but old and young men were not allowed to bathe together. But after Sylla's wars [82 B.C.E.], though there were separate sudaria and tepidaria for the sexes, they could meet freely in the corridors and chambers, and any immorality short of actual prostitution could take place.*

(Sanger 2013:74)

In addition to this, Fagan (2002:4) also mentions, "like the Romans, the Japanese bathe communally in hot water; nudity is an accepted facet of the public bathing process; and the bath, despite its deep religious roots and associations, has evolved into a sensual, rather than spiritual, experience". Don García de Silva y Figueroa who visited Isfahan as Spanish ambassador in 1619 noted in his travelogue:



*Despite prostitution and sexual immorality is sinful among Iranian people it is a prevalent practice in Isfahan more than any other city in Iran. One reason represents Shah Abbas I attempts to increase the number of immigrants through different nationalities like Christian, Jewish Georgian and Armenian, rising to power and relocated female black and white slaves from Russian, Georgia and Cherokee people to Isfahan. Because normally women from wealthy and upper-middle class families have their own private hammam and avoid using the public one.*

(Samei (trans) 1982:232)

According to the interview by Sepanta (2015), an Iranian author of several articles about Khosrow Agha hammam reportedly said:

*However partly the sexual immorality label smoothed the destruction of Khosrow Agha hammam after Islamic revolution and mainly in 1995 by the municipality. The hammam devastation after revolution brought the discontentment, which was carried out by Engineering Society and Iran's Supreme Council of Planning and Architecture on 28<sup>th</sup> September 1992 for the hammam conservation and pay attention for future plan. Later in 1993 the Ministry of Road and Urban development published an announcement in public statement for city council member election based on Khosrow Agha hammam renovation. The announcement carried out by the public relation office in Isfahan municipality and announced "hammam's renovation will be carried out under the supervision of the ministry and will be used as a Safavid Art Exhibition (see figure 6.6).*

(Interview, March 2015)



**Figure 6.6 Advertising of the Ministry for Khosrow Agha**  
Source: Courtesy of Photographer Sepanta 2000

Overall these performances and propaganda did not affect any conservation plans and the renovation was never carried out. A temporary photo gallery was mounted in the *Sarbineh* for a short period of time before major devastation of the building in 1995 (ICHHTO, 2005, see Figure 6.7).



**Figure 6.7 Khosrow Agha *hammam*, as a temporary photo gallery**  
Source: ICHHTO 2005

With the focus on political and social processes, Iranian cities were usually the heart of economic and cultural changes that have occurred after the Islamic revolution in 1979 (Hesamian, Etemad, and Haeri 1998). According to Fanni (2006) Iranian cities are increasingly having impacts via political–economical arrangements and chiefly by urban management structures. As a result, in April 1995, and in order to extend a new car park and construct a new road, the majority of the *hammam* was demolished during the night by the Isfahan municipality, and it became a victim of urban dynamics (CHN News January 2008) (see Figure 6.8).



**Figure 6.8 Demolition of Khosrow Agha *hammam* by the Isfahan municipality**  
Source: CHN News 2008

The accelerated urban growth and semi-process of gentrification in some areas of Isfahan city at that time, notably along the riverfront, was responsible for numerous urban morphology changes; particularly in the case of the destruction of the Khosrow Agha *hammam* (Sarmiento and Kazemi 2014). According to Shaker Ardekani et al. (2014:95) one of the urban renovation strategies is gentrification, known as a synonym for "improving the quality of living environment for residents and citizens" and it is a process occurring in certain inner-city areas whereby old, sub-standard housing is bought, modernized and occupied by middle class and wealthy families. They also argued that despite interventions that take place in inner-cities, these are not examples of gentrification; accordingly, it must be understood which factors influence these interventions and whether renovation of Iranian inner-cities can occur in the framework of gentrification. For instance at that

time the Khosrow Agha *hammam* was a symbol of gentrification in Isfahan city and was bitterly contested by those related key stakeholders like the municipality, the Endowment organization and the process ignored the ICHHTO expectation and public acceptance. Although at the time, ICHHTO and local people protested and discontentment towards the Isfahan municipality was evident in several newspapers and weblogs, it seemed the urban demand to build a new car park and road construction was stronger than conservation issues. Sepanta (2015) argued:

*It is obvious that Isfahan municipality betrayed one of the important heritage buildings by destroying Khosrow Agha hammam. In addition to this it also revealed the improper silence and lack of reaction by ICHHTO, waqf Organization and state prosecutor against the municipality. In my views some locals also showed their irresponsibility to the heritage conservation. Some people also confirmed to label the hammam as a sexual immoral or impure place by their ignorance and victims of illusion.*

(Interview, March 2015)

According to Sepanta's 2000 article "Why was there no plan to renovate the Khosrow Agha *hammam*", he also conducted an interview on the 9th April 2000 with the current members of the Isfahan municipality regarding the *hammam's* destruction. He noted:

*The responsible members of the Isfahan municipality did not provide the information on why the Khosrow Agha hammam was demolished. First they postponed the interview and asked me to apply questions to them in writing but they never replied to any of my missives. There was no one in Isfahan municipality to take the responsibility for answering the interview about Khosrow Agha hammam and some denied or ignored for sharing the information and document.*

(Interview, March 2015)

In addition to the research study, which was carried out in 2000 by Sepanta, the interview with a manager of the Restoration and Revitalization Organization in the Isfahan municipality was also carried out by another author in March 2015. According to the interview with Mr Jafari, the recent manager of the Isfahan municipality, the destruction of heritage sites such as the Khosrow Agha *hammam* in Isfahan had many reasons:

*Apparently, because of the high density of historical monuments in some historical part of Isfahan city, urban planning project and ancient setting revitalization (See Imam Ali Square), some small size of historical monuments needed to destroy. It is clear that they were victims of the modernization and urban planning in many large cities of Iran and in particular in Isfahan (see Khosrow Agha hammam). Obviously for some project it is not possible to keep all the historical elements and conserve them properly (see Korsi Hammam). Thus Khorow Agha hammam was the clear example of heritage demolition due to urbanization and modernization of the city. Recently Isfahan municipality attempts to provide the better connection with ICHHTO for further co-operation in order to avoid further destruction for historical building. For example today the municipality receives a new structure plan for Khosrow Agha hammam by ICHHTO to conserve the remaining debris of on west side of the hammam. Actually the municipality has never had any big conflicts with ICHHTO but it can also reveal the lack of cooperation by ICHHTO. Of course the co-operation of the municipality and ICHHTO can provide a proper co-operation with in multi-dimensional ways for heritage conservation due to a large number of monuments in Isfahan city.*

(Interview, March 2015)

While visiting Khosrow Agha *hammam* during the years (2012-2015) occasionally I noticed that the *hammam* was in the same state as in 1995 with further demolition (see Figure 6.9). Today, the historical *sang-ab* (the stone carved ornamental basin) in *hammam Sarbineh* is missing and only some scattered historical debris such as the columns remain along Sepah Street in the city centre.





**Figure 6.9 Recent condition of Khosrow Agha hammam**

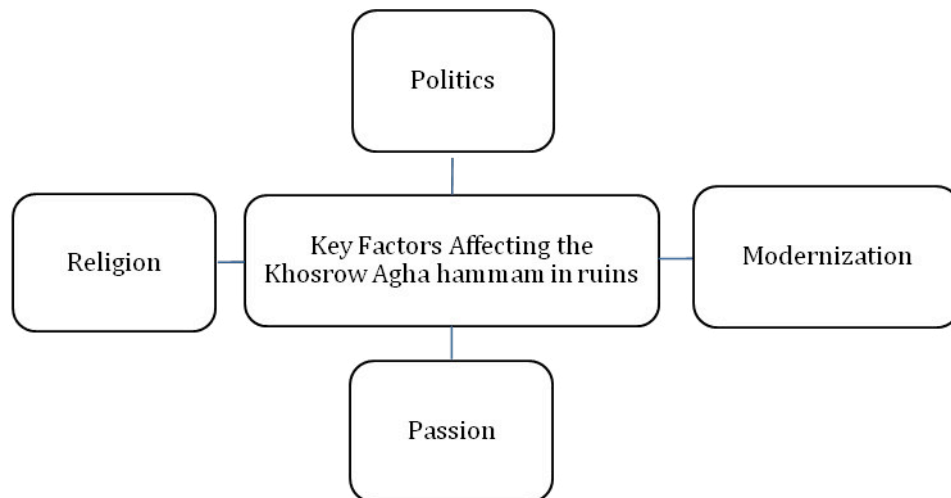
Source: Author 2012

ICHHTO provided the conservation plan (2013-2014) for the remaining debris on the west side of the *hammam* and requested the municipality to run the project. The project plan is available but the municipality still has not given priority to this work compared to others. An interesting example of contemporary ruins with a similar and identical situation to Khosrow Agha *hammam* is the Roman Baths in central Athens, which date back to the 3<sup>th</sup> Century BC and rebuilt in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Centuries. The baths were discovered during the excavation for the metro construction and today the bath area is conserved and developed with an information panel; people can safely walk around and read heritage information (see Figure 6.10).



**Figure 6.10 Ruins of a Roman Bath in Central Athens**  
Source: Courtesy of Sarmento 2016

With a special focus on Khosrow Agha *hammam*, the combined impact of above factors including politics, modernization, passion and religion played an important which led to the *hammam* ruins in the contemporary city (see Figure 6.11).



**Figure 6.11 Key factors affecting the Khosrow Agha *hammam* becoming a ruin**  
Source: Author 2015



Table 6.1 attempts to summarize the influence of different historical periods, events and the roles of key stakeholders in the Khosrow Agha *hammam* since the first demolition took place in the mid-Pahlavid dynasty onwards (from 1941 up until the present time). It also highlights the key stakeholders including the local community; state institute, municipality and others who have played a variety of roles in the *hammam's* devastation in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century onwards.

From 1941 up until present time			The Role of Stakeholders				
		Local Community	Ministry of Art and Culture	Municipality, <i>Baladiyeh</i>	ICHHTO	Endowment Organization	The Ministry of Road and Urban Development
	1941 (Mid Pahlavid Dynasty)	First demolished (some parts of the <i>hammam</i> used by neighbouring shops)	Discontentment carried out by the Ministry of Art and Culture after public dominance	Modernizing <i>hammam</i> by shower system and some parts of the <i>hammam</i> were closed	No Special Role	Endowment Property/ No Special Role	No Special Role
	1975-1977 (late Pahlavid Dynasty: Modernization)	The small part of the <i>hammam</i> used as original function till 1975	Renovated the <i>hammam</i> as Tea house/Coffee house between (1975-1977) Registered the <i>hammam</i> as national heritage in 1974	No Special Role	No Special Role	Endowment Property/ No Special Role	No Special Role
	1979 (Islamic Revolution of Iran)	Second demolished after Islamic revolution of Iran 1979 (Unknown people)	No Special Role	No Special Role	No Special Role	Endowment Property/ No Special Role	No Special Role
	1980-1993 (Preservation)	Discontentment carried out by local community and the Iran's Supreme Council of Planning and Architecture in order to the <i>hammam</i> preservation	No Special Role	Urban Development	Co-operation Carried out by the Ministry of Road and Urban Development	Endowment Property/ No Special Role	Announcements for the <i>hammam</i> preservation
	1995 (Urban Development)	Discontentment carried out by local community in order the <i>hammam</i> devastation	No Special Role	Third and Mainly Demolished of the <i>hammam</i>	Major conflict carried out by the Municipality	Endowment Property/ No Special Role	No Special Role
	Recent Years: 2014-2015	No Special Role	No Special Role	Conflict by ICHHTO	Conflict by Isfahan municipality	Endowment Property/ No Special Role	No Special Role

Table 6.1 The influence of different historical periods and key stakeholders on the Khosrow Agha *hammam*

Source: Author, 2015

The observation and fieldwork study shows how different stakeholders within different domains and duties have been playing an important role, directly or indirectly in the *hammam's* destruction. It also highlights how the rich historical background of the *hammams* remains as a ruin (near Naqsh e Jahan Square) in the contemporary city and there is no need for further demolition unlike many other *hammams* (see Zaferani and Haj Kazem *hammam*). Boym (2010) believes that at the same time, the fascination for ruins is not merely intellectual but also sensual and give us a shock of vanishing materiality. As Gould (2012:19) mentioned “the ruins of churches, mosques, museums and ancient cities inform material culture as allegories informing spiritual life, invoking forms of transcendence amidst the desacralized conditions of post-imperial modernities”. According to Park (2010 as cited in Park 2013:96) “Collective memory is not an accumulation of mainstream public opinion and major past events. It entails a sense of nostalgia concerning those opinions and events, a shared psychological empathy constantly reproduced and communicated throughout generations...It is a dynamic concept reflecting present needs, circumstances and changes.” Park (2013) also added the inclusive and holistic understanding of intangible heritage would contribute to enrich the discussions around the values and symbolic significances of heritage.

## 6.3 *Dardasht Hammam*

### 6.3.1 *Background*

The Dardasht *hammam* is one of the few historical *hammams* in Isfahan city that has recently been conserved and attempts are being made to find an adaptive re-use. Of course the conservation process was not carried out for the original function of the *hammam* and it must take on other roles and purposes. Achieving the transition from an original usage to a desired one and the management of the renewed *hammam* within different stakeholders are the main issues of the current situation. Because of that the principal aim of this chapter attempts to investigate the role of

related stakeholders, different functions and the recent activities of the *hammam* in the contemporary city from 2010 until 2015.

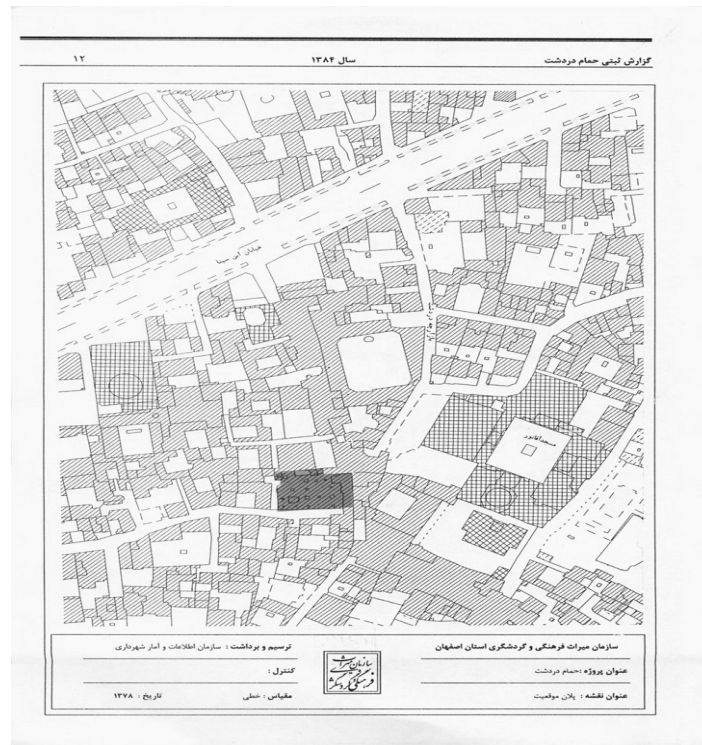
Dardasht *hammam* was selected as one of the main case studies of this research for several reasons, namely:

- It was completely renewed by the Isfahan Revitalization and Restoration Organization under the supervision of the Isfahan municipality in 2010.
- After conservation it acquired a different function.
- There was enough information about the *hammam* in different sources such as ICHHTO and the Isfahan municipality.
- Recently the municipality has been attempting to use the *hammam* as a tourist facility and achieve a suitable function for the *hammam*.

Dardasht *hammam* was registered as a national monument<sup>34</sup> on the 15th March 2006. It was also named Bazarche *hammam* in the Dardasht quarter in the Safavid dynasty (1501 to 1722). The *hammam* was built by Agha Momen in the Safavid period and was endowed to the Agha Nour Mosque, which was built by his brother (ICHHTO, 2005, see Figures 6.12 and 6.13).

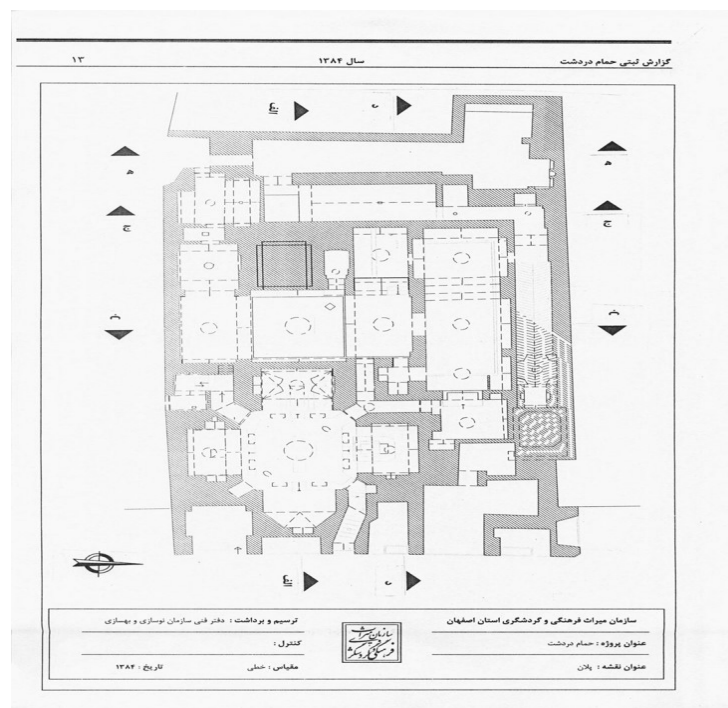
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<sup>34</sup> ICHHTO registration number 15192.



**Figure 6.12 The location of Dardasht hammam in Isfahan**

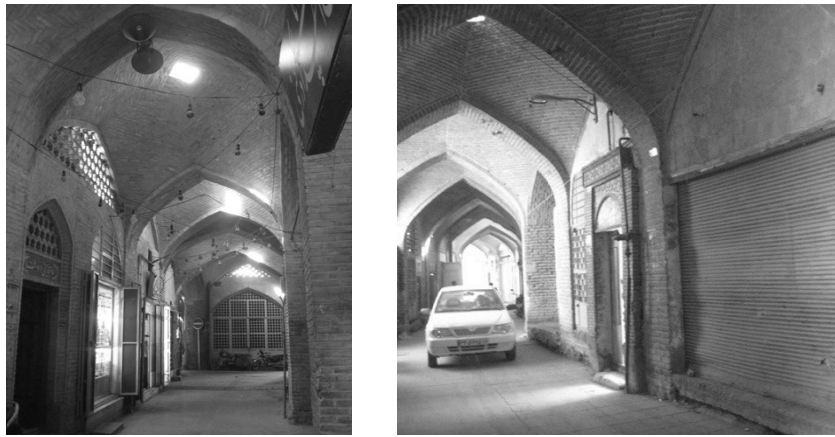
Source: Available In ICHHTO (January, 2006), Isfahan Office  
[Accessed October 2012]



**Figure 6.13 Dardasht hammam map**

Source: Available In ICHHTO (January, 2006), Isfahan Office  
[Accessed October 2012]

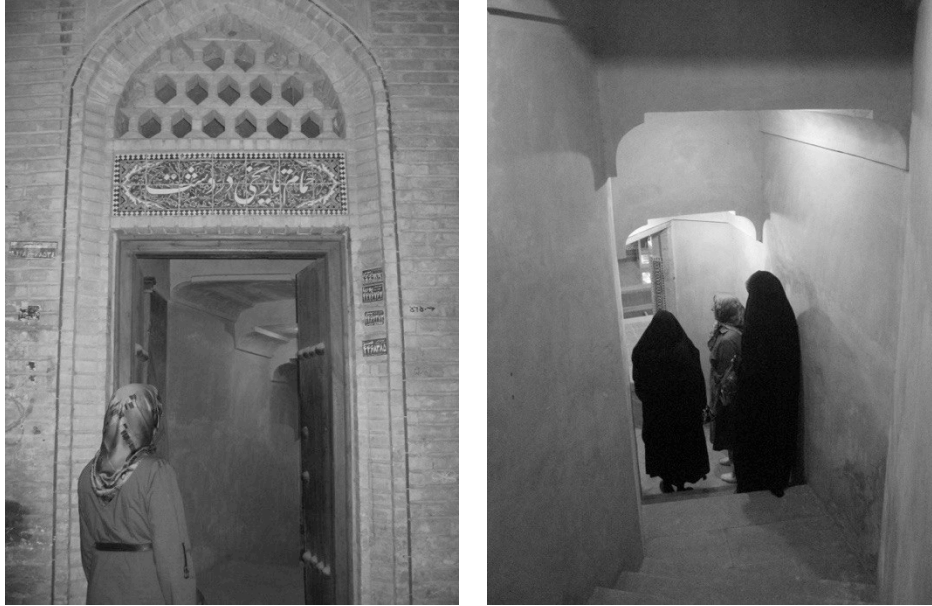
The mosque support and maintenance services were provided directly by the Dardasht *hammam* to the Mosque (ICHHTO, 2005). The *hammam* is 784 square metres and includes the common main structural elements such as the *Sarbineh*, *Garm Khaneh*, *Miyandar* and *Chal Hose* (ICHHTO, 2006). The *hammam* has the major components of traditional *hammam* structures that form the basis of the architecture in the Dardasht *bazaar*. The two main entrance doors for male and female visitors were located on the North and Eastern side of the building inside the *bazaar* (see Figure 6.14).



**Figure 6.14 Location of the Dardasht *hammam***

Source: Author 2012

The north's main entrance swings down through a 180-degree staircase to the *Sarbineh* from outsiders view from the *bazaar*. The next entrance to the *hammam* is located on the eastern side of the building in a narrow lane by a flight of steps. The only differences in the *hammam* structure when compared to others in Isfahan city are the entrances, which feature a few steps down to a narrow hallway (see Figure 6.15). This provided warmer temperatures inside the *Sarbineh* and offered more privacy for both genders.



**Figure 6.15 The main entrance to the Dardasht *hammam***  
Source: Author 2012

Some parts of the *hammam* were damaged due to the old sewage system, which made a smaller space for visitors' activities until 1999 (ICHHTO, 2006). Later the *hammam* was renewed by the Isfahan Revitalization and Restoration Organization under the supervision of the Isfahan municipality, and was inaugurated on the 6<sup>th</sup> December 2010. Based on recent *hammam* structural features, the renovation processes undertaken in the original plan attempted to revitalize damaged parts and present the original structure with no attention to building installation or mechanical works to use as the original function (ICHHTO, 2005).

### 6.3.2 Methodology

This section uses different sources and data collection methods to fully explore the information and documentation about the Dardasht *hammam* from the past and in the present. Archival research was carried out to present the management and protection of the *hammam* after conservation since 2010 until now. It included both electronic (i.e. Internet-based), hard copy and similar documents such as the booklet of the *hammam* that was available from ICHHTO and the Isfahan municipality. Fieldwork observation, during the period 2012-2015, provided



important insights into how the Isfahan municipality and ICHHTO used different strategies to find a suitable function for the Dardasht *hammam*. Based on fieldwork observation, different stakeholders catered for different functions within the *hammam* between 2012 and 2015: The Womens' Traditional Art & Handicraft Centre, Tourism Office, Special Events and Conference Centre. Fieldwork observation was undertaken between October 2012 and March 2015 to consider the different uses of the *hammam*. A telephone interview with previous staff of the *hammam* was carried out in February 2015 to investigate the condition of the *hammam* when used as the "Womens' Traditional Art & Handicraft Centre" between November 2010 and December 2013 (17 months). An interview with the recent manager of the Dardasht *hammam* and the head of Revitalization and Restoration Organization in the Isfahan municipality was carried out in October 2014 and March 2015 in order to know the management process and its perspective for the *hammam*.

### 6.3.3 Discussion

This section presents the findings related to the activities and new functions after the *hammam*'s conservation. It also explores the role of related stakeholders from 2010 until the present time for the Dardasht *hammam*. It also focuses on the ideas of the historical roots and the value of *hammams* in Islamic societies and attempts to make a connection between those ideas and the recently adopted functions in the city today. Since the opening in 2010 the ICHHTO have responsibility for the *hammam*. As women are among the founders and supporters of the historical *hammam*, and the women's quarters still dominate the *hammam* culture in some parts of Isfahan, the first purpose of the *hammam* was dedicated to use as the "Womens' Traditional Art Handicraft Centre". However, ICHHTO attempted to involve women in the current uses and actively promoted past urban culture in the historical *hammam*. Thus the *hammam* was named the 'Womens' Traditional Art &



Handicraft Centre' under the authority of the Handicraft Organization <sup>35</sup> in ICHHTO (ICHHTO, 2010). According to the interview with Mr Jafari, the Head of the Revitalization and Restoration Organization:

*Comparing to other historical hammams in Isfahan, the conservation of Dardasht hammam attempted to carry out in a proper technical way like Ali Gholi Agha. At the time when the hammam conservation carried out by Isfahan municipality, the research team in ICHHTO dedicated the hammam for women activities under the supervision of handicraft sector. It seems the handicraft sector attempted to achieve some more authority and influence in ICHHTO. Before this time the handicraft sector didn't have sufficient authority/power in ICHHTO and the new function in Dardasht hammam might provide them the opportunity to show their abilities for further activities. The hammam was pivotal in working as a women's traditional art and handicraft centre till early 2014.*

(Interview, March 2015)

The first fieldwork observation was conducted in October 2012, when the *hammam* was used as the "Womens' Traditional Art & Handicraft Centre". It provided a traditional place in the old part of Isfahan for women to gather, showing their handicrafts and teaching their traditional handmade methods for visitors. According to the deputy of the handicrafts sector in Isfahan, Ahmad Adib (November 2010) noted: "Dardasht *hammam* attempted to afford a special space within which clues, prospects and promises of excitement and involvement were offered in a traditional atmosphere for the women's activities" (Mojnews 2010 <sup>36</sup>) He also mentioned that this *hammam* is one of the first renewed heritages that provided the privacy for producing traditional women's art and handicrafts in Isfahan city. While visiting

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<sup>35</sup> The Handicraft sector was transferred from the Ministry of Industries and Mines (Iran) to ICHHTO in 2006.

<sup>36</sup> Moj News Agency was established in line with the activities of the Moj Cultural Institute. The agency was inaugurated after long-term theoretical and practical studies focusing on the most successful news agencies all over the world. Moj News Agency was registered on the (11/26/2002) under the number 14639 in the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance.

Dardasht *hammam* in October 2012, the Centre investigated the traditional arena for the education, production, selling and exhibition of women's products. 15 females worked in the Dardasht *hammam* during the 17 month period between November 2010 and December 2013. They produced different types of art and traditional handicrafts such as: Mina-Kari<sup>37</sup>, Malileh-Duzi<sup>38</sup>, Charm-Duzi<sup>39</sup>, Khatam-Kari<sup>40</sup>, Galim-Bafi<sup>41</sup>, Chap-e-Dasti<sup>42</sup>. In fact, the *hammam*, with its new function, almost showed the interactions between women's activities and its atmosphere that can be traced back to the history of Islamic cities. When entering the Dardasht *hammam* area, one was aware of the women's enthusiasm for their activities as they participated with each other to improve skills and productivity. The recent activities of the *hammam* completely changed but the *hammam* attracted women by the atmosphere of the place at that time. A phone interview was arranged following an analysis of data collected from Mrs Hosseini who was working in Dardasht *hammam* for the 17 months (between November 2010 to December 2013) to find out the women's perceptions at that time. She was also one of the first members who were invited to work in the Dardasht *hammam* by ICHHTO and the Ministry of Co-operatives, Labour and Social Welfare<sup>43</sup>.

According to a phone interview, which was carried out in February 2015, Mrs Hosseini explained:

*I was an active artist but didn't have capability to provide the workplace for showing my own traditional handicraft. The ministry of Co-operatives, Labour and Social Welfare asked me to work in Dardasht hammam under the authority of*

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<sup>37</sup> Mina Kari: Vitreous enamel is called miniature of fire as well as the decoration of metal and tile with mina glaze (Foroughi 2012).

<sup>38</sup> Malileh-Duzi: One of the original Persian handicrafts applies to fine gold and silver threads used for textile work and also for jewelry making (Foroughi 2012).

<sup>39</sup> Charm-Duzi: The art of hand sewing leather (Foroughi 2012).

<sup>40</sup> Khatam-Kari: is the Persian version of marquetry, art forms made by decorating the surface of wooden articles with delicate pieces of wood, bone and metal precisely-cut geometrical shapes (Foroughi 2012).

<sup>41</sup> Galim-Bafi: Weaving Gelim or traditional rough carpet, which have variations in their textures and number of knots as well (Foroughi 2012).

<sup>42</sup> Chap-e-Dasti: Traditional Printmaking is the process of making artwork by printing on cloth (Foroughi 2012).

<sup>43</sup> The Ministry of Co-operatives, Labour and Social Welfare in Iran started work on the 29th June 2011 with the integration of the three Ministries, e.g. Welfare/Social Security, Labour and Social Affairs Co-operative.

*handicraft sector in ICHHTO. The ministry and ICHHTO attempted to make co-operation in order to provide women empowered supports under the fourth economic development plans of Iran<sup>44</sup>. ICHHTO provided the hammam as workplace for women and made an official contract with female staff either to protect the hammam architectural features or to avoid claiming the hammam space as their own possession.*

(Interview, February 2015)

In addition to this Mrs. Hosseini argued the recent atmosphere in the *hammam* and regulations seemed to address mostly the characteristics of women's desires that are directly related to the physical and emotional needs among women in the past. Based on her idea the women gathering in Dardasht *hammam* provided better conditions for the formation of a handicraft co-operative institute among women, which would facilitate the production and revival of traditional art and handicrafts in Isfahan city. In the following interview, Mrs. Hosseini also highlighted the advantages of the Dardasht *hammam* for women's activities namely:

- *Using the historical hammam space with no monthly fee and expenses*
- *Adaptation of the hammam space with the women's art & traditional handicraft activities*
- *Women gathering and co-operating in a public sphere*
- *Providing a comfortable workplace for women in Islamic society.*

(Interview, February 2015)

Of course throughout history, women's quarters in the historical *hammam* have had an on-going impact and influence on women's public lives, particularly in Islamic cities. Although the *hammam* is usually considered a Muslim space in Islamic cities

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<sup>44</sup>Since the 1979 revolution in Iran, Islamic ideology has guided the policies and actions of the country's government. In fact, the adaptability of Islamic ideology in response to economic reality became evident when the government launched its programme of economic development plans after the cease-fire with Iraq in 1988. The economic development plan is carried out every five years including: Iran's first five-year economic development plan (1989-1994), Iran's second five-year economic development plan (1994-1999), Iran's third five-year economic development plan (1999-2004), Iran's fourth five-year economic development plan (2004-2009) and Iran's fifth five-year economic development plan (2009-2014).

and its Roman roots connect its customers to other histories (Aksit 2011). “In this respect, a comparative social and historical analysis of women's quarters in the *hammam* queries the so-called Islamic city as a standard and unchanging space distinct from its European counterparts” (Aksit 2011:277). Staats (1994:1) defined *hammam* as “a place where almost every woman in Morocco goes, regularly or for religious purification or for occasions, and where she is freer than in any other public establishment”. As an example, Aksit (2011) also mentions, a *hammam* in Ankara, Şengül *hammam*, is presented as a changing space where women negotiate their status, social positions and safety in an urban environment. Dardasht *hammam* is an example of renewed heritage in the contemporary city, which raises an important social-cultural dimension of contemporary *hammams* in Islamic society. It means the new function considered the effect of the *hammam* on a daily basis of women’s life through the history of Islamic cities and investigated making a new adaptation in the contemporary city. According to Miranne and Young (2000) the current literature relating to gender and urban environment included three aspects: first, women’s and men’s experiences in the city are different and these differences centre largely on relations of inequality; second, that women’s active use of space and time often results in changes to the spatial and social structure of the city; and third, that structural changes can alter gender relations within the city. They also argued that the concept provides interpretations of the ways in which urban spaces are gendered by social relations and, in turn, of how social relations result in distinct spatial forms within the city. With the focus on the history of *hammams* in Islamic societies and social relations, Blunt (1966:96) expressed that “the women of course remained much at home, and probably the most eventful moments of the week would be the visit to the mosque and to the *hammam*”. However, religion has been playing such a major role in people’s lives and their social life. Religion can be important to people and can constitute a significant component of many people’s private and public lives, affecting life style choices, such as those related to selection of food, dress, friends, homes, neighbourhoods, places of worship, communal gathering and community participation, among others (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2004). They also noted (2004:386) “religion can have a profound influence on

people's relations to places, and on the place itself through designs of cities, neighbourhoods, homes and sacred structures". In addition to this Woodhead (2002:397) mentioned, "religion may also serve to conceptualize and control the ambivalences of women's power". Research in women's studies also suggests the relation between religion and behaviour and the connection between males and females, public and private. The public private dichotomy introduced by feminist anthropologists (Rosaldo, Lamphere, and Bamberger 1974) has been provocative, powerful, and a useful tool in analyzing women's roles in certain contexts. Woodhead (2002) argued that of course throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> Century and beyond women have increasingly won the right to move into the public sphere, but the latter remains masculinized and male dominated. On the other hand Kandiyoti (1991) also believed that in the contemporary Muslim world, where ties of external dependence have deepened and women have become much more visible in the public realm, the attractions of reasserting control in this sphere are ever present. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the dimensions of wellbeing contribute to socio-cultural factors influencing mental health in contemporary societies. The research findings in the Dardasht *hammam* also confirmed the above ideas of providing a suitable workplace for women and their gathering in the contemporary city of Isfahan. In addition to this some key sustainability problems were revealed, as the renewed *hammam* was not well-suited for some kinds of women's activities. While visiting Dardasht *hammam* in October 2012, I noticed that some things, such as wall painting, wall fittings and decoration, were not suitable for this renewed site (see Figure 6.16). To follow these issues Mrs Hosseini also mentioned during the interview:

*Despite the hammam had many advantages for women, the space didn't suit well for some kind of activities. Sometimes it caused some difficulties for members to decorate and show their products without any harmful effects for the hammam's structures. Of course some members were responsible to report those problems but in some cases it might be harmful to the future conservation. On the other side the occupied hammam provided the good opportunity to find out daily information about*

*the hammam and its conservation problems by women to ICHHTO. However the hammam needed to occupy by some people in order to help the conservation process and it would be harmful if it kept as empty place without any human activities.*

(Interview, February 2015)



**Figure 6.16 Dardasht hammam: Women's Traditional Art & Handicraft Centre**  
Source: Author 2012

Landorf (2009:496) argued, “Despite the contentious conceptual nature of sustainable development, two key principles are consistently evident in the literature — the use of a long-term and holistic planning process, and the participation and empowerment of multiple stakeholders”. Theoretically, every member of society is a heritage stakeholder and so must be responsible for its conservation (Starr 2013). However, poor planning controls, management and



inappropriate function for conserved or renewed heritage create mainly threats for conservation process and its future conservation. Mainly after heritage conservation the threats can be lack of specific plans for the management or giving pressure to the heritage to be replaced with some harmful or inappropriate usage. Some heritage sites in Isfahan are fragile, threatened not only by lack of conservation plans but also by the unfit and unsuitable function after conservation (see the Vazir and Jarchy *hammam*). Dardasht *hammam* - Women Traditional Art & Handicraft Centre - was concerned with justifying the allocation of renewed heritage to women's activities, its consequence for heritage conservation and maintaining good co-operation with stakeholders, including the Isfahan municipality and ICHHTO. However the research findings revealed the matter of the new function exposing the connectivity to the history of *hammams* in Islamic cities but the management activities were probably not appropriate in the Dardasht *hammam* and a change of management was required. In addition to this the management of ICHHTO did not consider it necessary to obtain and maintain an appropriate relationship with the Isfahan municipality and financial benefits. Lately, the above issues caused the Centre to close and forced women to leave the *hammam*. The women's discontentment carried on a further 2 months (November and December 2013), but the Isfahan municipality was stronger than ICHHTO and the *hammam* again came under the authority of the municipality in early 2014. According to the interview with the Head of the Revitalization and Restoration Organization, Mr. Jafari said:

*ICHHTO did not provide the successful work for the hammam due to their management process and lack of financial support by government. The ideas for the hammam seemed well defined but ICHHTO did not effort to manage the special activities in proper management.*

(Interview, March 2015)

The survey results revealed shifting the *hammam* supervision between ICHHTO and the Isfahan municipality in early 2014. The second period of field observation was sporadically carried out during the summer of 2014, to observe the *hammam* in a

setting with different kinds of activities and programmes under the supervision of the Isfahan municipality. It revealed the *hammam* as providing a place for a temporary art gallery, hosting events, conferences, etc. It allowed the public artists to show their art in the *hammam* space. Today the findings showed the Isfahan municipality use the *hammam* as the location for the tourism administrative office and temporary exhibitions and events. The *hammam* is not officially open for public visitors but interested groups, individuals or tourism companies can make an appointment with the Isfahan municipality to visit the *hammam*. It seems tourism is not the major source of revenue for the Dardasht *hammam*, unlike the Ali Gholi Agha *hammam* museum but tries to play a significant role in this historical quarter as a tourist attraction.

The interview in October 2014 was conducted (in the Dardasht *hammam*) with Mr. Izad Khasti, the recent manager and municipality representative, who has been working in the *hammam* since Spring 2014. Following an analysis of data collected from the recent manager, the interview was designed to examine the future prospects of the *hammam*, management policies and its recent function. The analysis involved looking for themes within the *hammam* space and comparing them with the expectations of the manager. Mr. Izad Khasti said:

*Isfahan municipality makes too much effort in choosing the adaptive re-use usage for Dardasht hammam after previous usage, which was defined by ICHHTO. Since that time the municipality has been trying to dedicate different functionalities for the hammam and deliberate them for better decision.*

(Interview, October 2014)

The interview represented wider themes concerning heritage protection policy in Isfahan and the conflict between the Isfahan municipality and ICHHTO. The opposing views of the nature of the relationship between them have been promulgated and reflect their co-operation dichotomy. For instance the following discussion can provide the dealings and interaction between the municipality and



ICHHTO. According to CHN News (18<sup>th</sup> October 2014), Dr Saqaeian Nejad; the mayor of Isfahan since 2003 till 2016:

*Today ICHHTO does not have capability to conserve and manage the historical cultural heritages in the city and the municipality with suitable budget has been playing a significant role for heritage conservation in Isfahan. Of course politicizing dominant discursive constructions in ICHHTO, uncontrollable and lack of managements for heritage, reducing the power level of heritage protection as well as conceptual problems between ICHHTO and the municipality caused the main conflict between the municipality and ICHHTO approaches.*

(Quote from Saqaeian Nejad, October 2014)

Conversely according to CHN News (20<sup>th</sup> October 2014) and in response to the mayor of Isfahan's speech; the official director of preserving and restoring monuments in ICHHTO; Mr Saberi Khakhaki also argued:

*When Isfahan municipality dedicates a small amount of money to the heritage conservation and their protection, they should also consider that the major income of the municipality is related to several heritage sites in Isfahan. Normally the municipality ignores their responsibilities for heritage conservation and never provides any good reason for heritage destruction and demolition. Based on sufficient budget by the municipality why they have never pay attention to the major heritage devastation and rapid urban developments that were suffered many historical monuments and heritage sites in Isfahan city. The municipality needs to make a suitable cooperation and follow the rules under the authority of ICHHTO, which officially is responsible for tourism and heritage conservation sector in Isfahan.*

(Quote from Saberi Khakhaki, October 2014)

At times the Isfahan municipality neglects heritage conservation in Isfahan city and in some cases it has been playing a principal role in heritage destruction (see Khosrow Agha *hammam*, Korsi *hammam*). However, the municipality has also been playing, or will have an effective influence on reviving and conserving heritage sites

as well as all conserved historical *hammams* in Isfahan city which now have new functions (see Ali Gholi Agha, Rehnan & Dardasht *hammam*). Contrariwise the historical *hammams* under the direct supervision of ICHHTO in Isfahan are in ruins, closed or conservation is carried out periodically, incompletely and never follows a specific plan for further conservation and future management. The interview with the recent manager of the Dardasht *hammam*, Mr Izad Khasti, also signified ICHHTO supervision in the past and the municipality's role at the present time. He said:

*The previous use of the hammam as the 'Women's traditional art and handicraft Centre' brought different kinds of problems. For example, after a period of time, some women showed their strong feeling for their job in the hammam space and felt to use the space as their own workplace. The hammam steadily lost its original purpose and some people gradually attempted to make a business market of new products, which gave them better pay and benefits.*

(Interview, October 2014)

Mr Izad Khasti (2014) argued that the Centre did not serve the main purpose of the renewed *hammam*, which was carried out with the municipality. Thus, after a few years, in 2013, the municipality took back the responsibility and the *hammam* was renamed the 'Art and cultural research Institute'. Mr Izad Khasti also added:

*With focus on cultural heritage activities and events, the institute have been attempting to co-operate with the 'Isfahan Private Institute of Eastern Artists' and made an official agreement for further cooperation with them. The hammam has good potential to provide a name as an Intangible Cultural Heritage Exhibition/Museum which has an important role in the revival of those traditional activities for visitors to Isfahan. In some cases private/state organizations attempt to make some kind of profitable businesses with heritage sites such as historical hammams, which use as a restaurant or teahouse. However Isfahan municipality has not followed those ideas or business perspective for Dardasht hammam. Thus the municipality mainly focuses on cultural activities and organizing traditional events, which can help to find a more meaningful function of this highly valuable historical asset.*

(Interview, October 2014)

Mr Izad Khasti (2014) also added, “today the municipality does not want to decide quickly on indicating a permanent function and the municipality attempts to find the adaptive re-use function by achieving different types of experience and practices in the contemporary city”. (see Figure 6.17).



**Figure 6.17 Dardasht *hammam*: Art and Cultural Research Institute**  
Source: Author 2014

From September 2013 to May 2014 the Isfahan municipality organized 40 events, both public and private, in the *hammam* space. The range of different activities the *hammam* engaged in, particularly from Summer 2013 to Spring 2014 within a 9-month period is published in the *hammam* booklet. The booklet, which was published in June 2014, provided information based on events and temporary activities during that time (see Appendix 4). The booklet explained the main goals and objectives of these public and private events, activities, timetables, the number of visitors and related information through 21 main public performances and some private events and activities. The public and private events demonstrated that the *hammam* management perspective was looking to provide creative strategies to

revive some cultural and historical activities in the *hammam* space. Some occasional events highlighted that the *hammam* atmosphere was linked to reaching a 'sense of cultural activities' associated with the *hammam* space. The interpretation of events and cultural activities enabled the municipality to show how the *hammam* space was used to access cultural heritage activities for visitors. A variety of activities and events, which were occasionally carried out in the *hammam*, bring up the variety of strategies of recent *hammam* management. However, the performance of the traditional customs of bathing activities was one of the most successful programmes, which was carried out in Spring 2014 and attracted the highest number of visitors (2000 people) in comparison with other performances and activities. The *hammam* provided the space for a live temporary exhibition based on traditional customs and ritual *hammam* activities in Spring 2014, within 15 days of the Nowruz holiday. It provided a 3D film theatre with audio; photographs and traditional food was served on the roof of the *hammam*. Tickets were sold to visit the *hammam* exhibition; one Euro for Iranian visitors and five Euros for international ones and revealed the visitors' interest was very much motivated by learning about traditional bathing activities. According to Moscardo (1996) if interpretation at built heritage sites can be effective and create mindful visitors, the management of such places can be substantially improved. He also believed that carefully designed interpretive programmes could directly influence the distribution of visitors at a site relieving, to some degree, congestion and pressure.

The third period of field observations was carried out in Spring 2015, within 13 days of the Nowruz holiday, to observe the *hammam* in a setting with new activities under the supervision of the Isfahan municipality. It aimed to discover the different kinds of activities in certain types of performances and exhibitions compared to the previous year of 2014. In the following year (2015), the celebration of Nowruz organized by the municipality made a connection to the traditional customs, history and structure of the Dardasht *hammam* using expert female guides. In addition to this the photo gallery exhibition of Isfahan city was also arranged in the *Garmkhaneh* space while the 3D movie with audio about the *hammam*'s traditional

activities was shown on the walls of the *hammam*. Four guides explained different parts of the *hammam* and they also requested the visitors to tell others so as to increase the number of visitors to the *hammam*. According to the available data in the Dardasht *hammam* (March 2015) the number of visitors during the Iranian New Year Nowruz holiday was 1300, which showed the number of female visitors who visited the *hammam* grew to more than double the number of male visitors. In addition the municipality also provided a City Bus Tour to different parts of the city for visitors and introduced them especially to the historical monuments in the city, which have been recently conserved (see Dardasht *hammam*). Accordingly the municipality attempted to introduce people to the historical monuments which were not well known in Isfahan city. Tickets were sold for visiting the *hammam*; one and half Euros for all Iranian and international visitors and half price for those who used the City Bus Tour for the *hammam*. One of the expert guides in the *hammam*, Mrs. Rajabi (March 2015) said:

*The hammam was advertised well during the holiday and visitors seemed to be attracted by the recent activities. Some visitors mentioned they only had opportunity to visit Ali Gholi hammam in Isfahan and they got really motivated by visiting Dardasht hammam in Isfahan city. Especially the visitors enjoyed the traditional food that was served on the roof besides some explanation about the general hammam's roof. Perhaps visiting the previous historical hammam (see Ali Gholi hammam) didn't give them the opportunity to find information about the roof construction and the multiple domes that contain convex glasses. Normally the construction of the hammam's roof which provided sufficient lighting to the hammam while concealing it from the outside have been made the most attractive part for visitors. After visiting the hammam some visitors introduced the hammam for who might be interested and some took their family and friends to the hammam.*

(Quoted by Rajabi 2015)

An interview was carried out with the Head of the Revitalization and Restoration Organization in Isfahan municipality, Mr Jafari, in March 2015:

*Of course the municipality still has not used all the potential of renewed hammam but it will be introduced as one of the main tourist attraction in Isfahan city in the near future. I hope the municipality either could support the hammam financially for further conservation or perform adaptive re-use function. In Iran the renewed hammams normally use as a teahouse or restaurant and because of that the municipality tries to achieve the suitable and creative function for the future of this hammam. However the municipality is ready to make a proper cooperation with ICHHTO or related organization and exchange their information and ideas due to heritage conservation and finding the suitable usage. Unfortunately ICHHTO normally has been played passive roles and they only want to find the municipality's mistakes and show their defective role. They neither make a good cooperation with municipality nor attempt to play active role for heritage conservation. In my view ICHHTO must provide the strategic plan, share idea, conservation skill, exchange information and expert for heritage conservation, defining future function and the management of heritage in contemporary city with the cooperation of Isfahan municipality.*

(Interview, March 2015)

Mr Jafari also mentioned that the co-operation between the municipality and ICHHTO could provide a better management and conservation perspective among the heritage sites in Isfahan city. Mr Jafari supposed that an academic research team needed to be established to study the new *hammam* functions in different counties like Turkey, Tunisia, China and make a comparison with the cases of *hammams* in Isfahan. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Funk et al. (2004) discussed the involvement in leisure activities of three elements: attraction, self-expression and centrality to lifestyle. Thus with the focus on the Dardasht *hammam*, these three elements need to find a suitable re-use, be managed properly, get involved in leisure activities and the extent to which visitor's interest could be aroused, and their needs be fulfilled during a visit to the *hammam*.

## 6.4 Ghazi Hammam

### 6.4.1 Background

This section investigates the Ghazi *hammam*, located in the historical part of Isfahan city in the Shahshahan quarter. The *hammam* has been under conservation since 2009 and will be used as an original *hammam* with a modern adaptation of services and facilities in future. The Ghazi *hammam* was selected as one of the main case studies in this research for several reasons:

- The only *hammam* which is supervised by the UDRC under the Ministry of Roads & Urban Development at the present time.
- The only historical *hammam* in Isfahan city that will be used again as an original *hammam* in the future to provide traditional washing activities in a modern adaptation of services and facilities in the future.
- It has a rich historical background in the historical Ghazi quarter.
- There is enough information about the *hammam* in the UDRC with the co-operation of the Renovation and Restoration Organization in the Isfahan municipality.
- Both individuals and state stakeholders are fighting for the *hammam* renovation and showing their interest in the project of this *hammam* in the contemporary city.

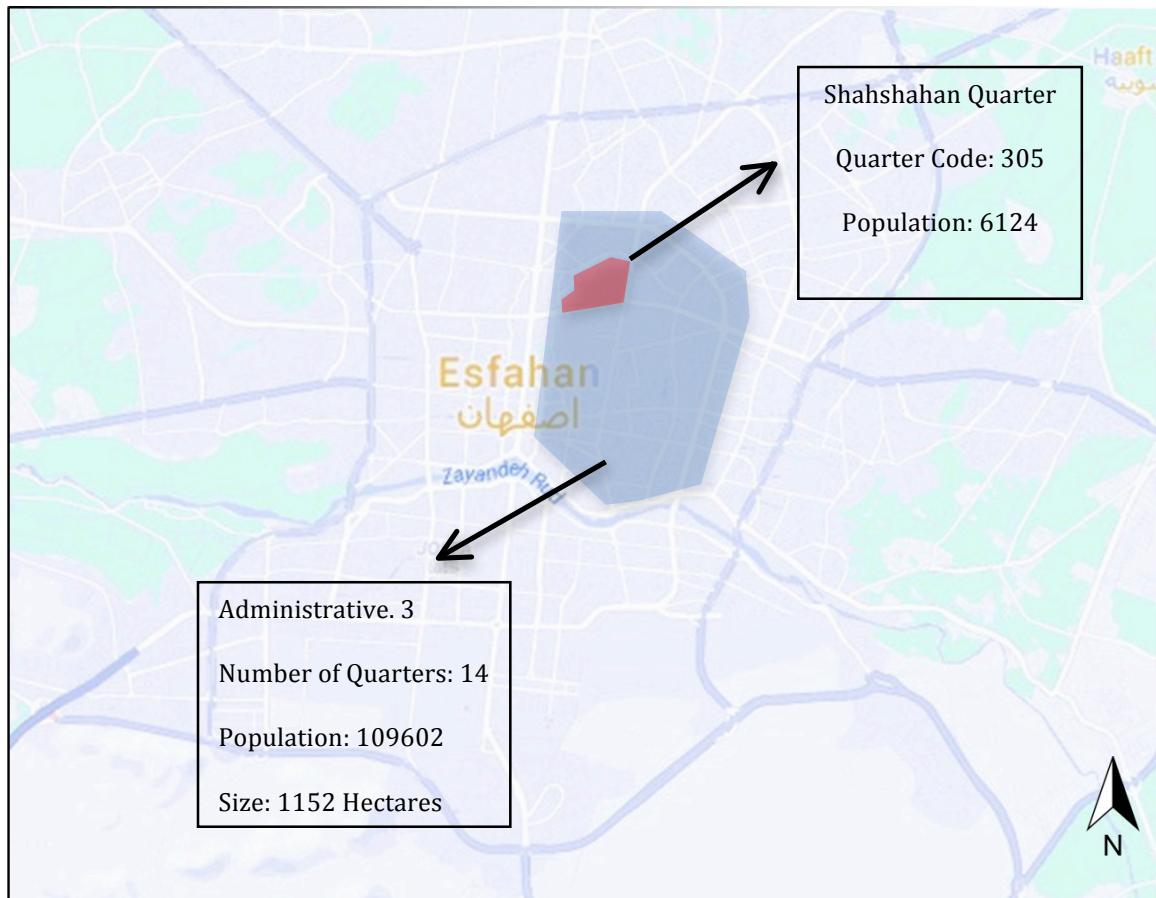
The Ghazi *hammam* was registered as a national monument<sup>45</sup> on the 13<sup>th</sup> November 2007. The *hammam* was built during the Safavid dynasty (1501 to 1722) and functioned until 1983, just a few years after the Islamic revolution of 1979 (UDRC, 2012). Arbab (1924), in the *Nesf-e-Jahan* book, counted 150 *hammams* in Isfahan and expressed the view that *hammams* in the Safavid dynasty, particularly the Ghazi *hammam* in old Shahshahan quarter, played a significant role in the city. According to the Iran Census Data (2012) the Shahshahan quarter, one of the oldest parts of

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<sup>45</sup> ICHHTO Registration number: 20012.



the city, is located in the third administrative division, district three, out of fifteen by the Isfahan municipality (see Figure 6.18).

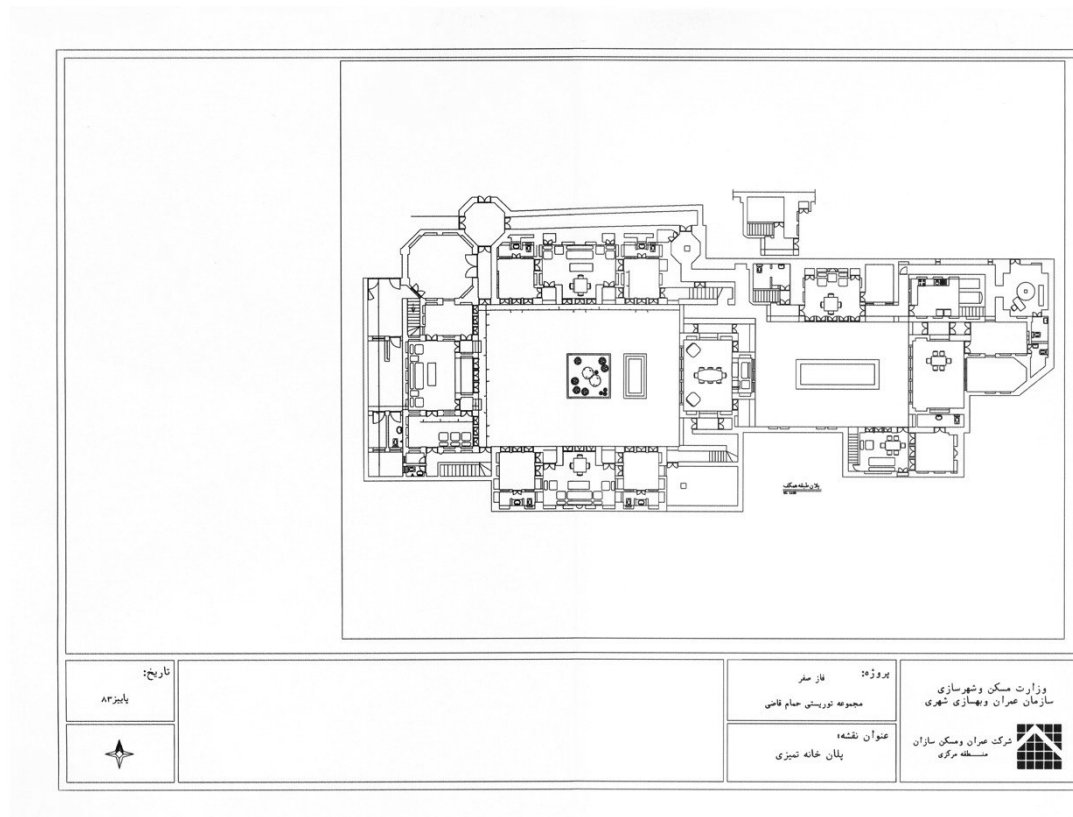


**Figure 6.18 The location of the Shahshahan quarter in third administrative division**  
Source: Available in UDRC (Modified by Author) [Accessed October 2014]

The Ghazi *hammam* has 840 square metres of land and around 600 square metres of building area, which includes the common main structural elements such as the *Sarbineh*, *Garm Khaneh*, *Miyandar* and *Chal Hose* for male and female visitors (UDRC, 2012: see Figure 6.19). The two main entrance doors for male and female visitors were located inside the *bazaar* and alongside each other (see Figure 6.20). The *hammam* provided two separate areas with all common *hammam* elements for men and women simultaneously. The main difference between these two separate areas was their size and the entrance structure. The men's space was much bigger and the entrance directly connected to the *Sarbineh*. By contrast, the women's entrance was connected to the *Sarbineh* via a long corridor, to block outsiders' view from the



*bazaar*. The female entrance was located on the northeast side of the building, in the middle of the *bazaar*, and the male entrance was located on the northwest side of the building at the beginning of the western entrance to the *bazaar*. According to the UDRC (2012) some research studies showed the *hammam* and Haj Younsei mosque (next to the *hammam*) was built together in the time of Shah Abbas II (1693-1694) due to the epigraphic sign on the mosque's entrance (see Figure 6.21). As mentioned in Chapter 3, Boggs (2010) explained the maintenance of the mosque depended on the successful running of the *hammam* and the profits from the *hammam* would fund the up-keep of the mosque.



**Figure 6.19 Ghazi hammam map**  
Available In ICHHTO, Isfahan Office [Accessed October 2013]



**Figure 6.20 Ghazi *hammam* entrance**  
Source: Author 2014

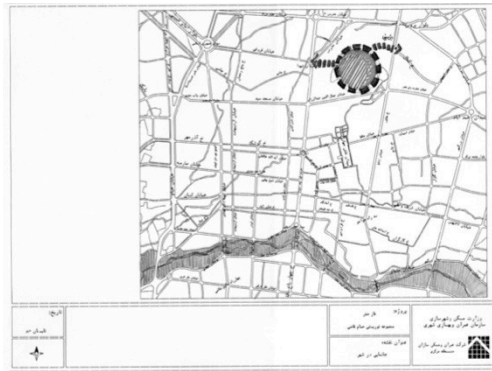


**Figure 6.21 Haj Younesi mosque**  
Source: Author 2014

The existence of several portraits, paintings and art forms from the Qajar dynasty (1796-1925) inside the Ghazi *hammam* revealed that the *hammam* was re-built during that period, while it was demolished after an unspecified period of time. Later in the Pahlavi dynasty (1925-1979) some limited changes were carried out in the *Garm khane* and *Sarbineh* areas in order to provide new and modern services like shower baths and dressers (UDRC 2012). The *hammam* was not used from 1983 to 2004 and deteriorated significantly. Possibly this led to the damage to the building sometime in 2004, which was carried by unknown people, perhaps from the local community, an action which could be related to their dissatisfaction about the condition of the *hammam* (UDRC 2012). Later, there was a limited intervention by the Isfahan municipality and afterwards in 2009, the *hammam* supervision shifted to the Urban Development and Revitalization Cooperation Company (UDRC)<sup>46</sup>. The up-coming functionality of the Ghazi *hammam* will be assigned to its

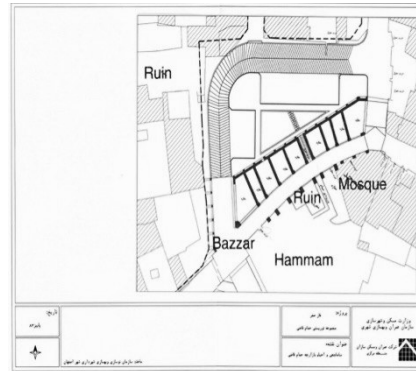
<sup>46</sup> The UDRC has been working under the authority of the Ministry of Roads & Urban Development since 1993. This Ministry established the Iranian Urban Development and Revitalization Co-operation Company and provided UDRCs in different cities of Iran for their co-operation. Generally the Ministry of Roads & Urban Development considered some strategies for renovation and conservation of heritage monuments and revitalization of old quarters/areas particularly in historical cities of Iran.

traditional usage, which allows visitors to experience the original *hammam* as it operated in the past (see Figures 6.22 and 6.23):



**Figure 6.22 The location of the Ghazi complex in Isfahan**

Source: Available in UDRC [Accessed October 2014]



**Figure 6.23 Ghazi complex map**

Source: Available in UDRC [Accessed October 2014]

## 6.4.2 Methodology

This section examines different methodological approaches used in the analysis of the different facets of the *hammam* in the contemporary city. Archival research was one of the main methods used and was undertaken in a library and databases both electronic (i.e. Internet-based), and paper-based news articles, hard copy issues of newspapers, minutes, reports of meetings, deeds and official letters or agreements that were available from different sources. Mostly archival research was sought out at institutional archive repositories, in the custody of UDRC, Renovation and Restoration Organization, ICHHTO and the Antique hotel. Fieldwork from October 2012 to March 2015 was carried out to fully observe the *hammam* circumstances and surrounding area. In addition several interviews and informal conversations were conducted to gather further information (see Table 6.2):

Interviewees Name	Interviewer's Position	Interview Date	Interview Location
<b>Mr. and Mrs. Fahami</b>	Local resident representatives in Shahshahan quarter	March 2015	Fahami's family members
<b>Mr Khajoei</b>	Head of listing and buffer zone of ICHHTO in Isfahan	March 2015	ICHHTO office in Isfahan
<b>Mr Geravand</b>	Headmaster of UDRC in Isfahan	October 2014	UDRC in Isfahan
<b>Mr Hamid</b>	Recent owner of two art galleries shops in neighboring <i>hammam</i>	March 2015	The shop in a neighboring <i>hammam</i>
<b>Mr Bazmi</b>	Manager of Antique hotel	October 2014	Antique hotel In a neighboring area: Shahshahan quarter

**Table 6.2 The interviews reported in this research study for the Ghazi *hammam***  
Source: Author 2015

### 6.4.3 Discussion

This section begins by illustrating the reasons behind the demolition of the Ghazi *hammam* in 2004. It also investigates the process of *hammam* conservation, which was carried out shortly after its demolition. Meanwhile it focuses on the recent condition and the future usage of the *hammam* that will be returned to the original *hammam* function. The main structure of the Ghazi *hammam* was demolished on the 28<sup>th</sup> May 2004 (CHN News, 2004: see Figures 6.24 and 6.25). According to CHN News (27<sup>th</sup> June 2004), Mr Khajoei, the head of listing and buffer zone of ICHHTO in Isfahan, said:

*It seems unknown local residents destroyed the main walls of the hammam and made a fire in order to provide the widening street, easy vehicle access and making safe place in this quarter. The hammam devastation carried out mainly by fire in nighttime. Today some cases of heritage sites or monuments with no conservation plan (see Ghazi hammam) can provide gathering place for addicted people with drug and make unsafe place around the quarters for local community.*

(Quoted by Mr Khajoei 2004)



**Figure 6.24 Ghazi hammam demolition in 2004**  
Source: UDRC [Accessed October 2014]



**Figure 6.25 Ghazi hammam Sarbineh**  
Source: UDRC [Accessed October 2014]

During my visits to the Ghazi *hammam* in the Shahshahan quarter, from 2012 to 2015, I interviewed two members of the Fahami family who have lived in that quarter for more than 30 years and know the reasons behind the Ghazi *hammam* demolition. They have been involved in social and cultural practices in the quarter such as maintenance of the historical local mosque (Haj Younsei mosque), next to the *hammam* and they have a strong connection with other members of the community, acting as mediators between members of the community in conflict situations. For generations and until its closure, this family used the *hammam* regularly. The interview took place in their own house in March 2015 and the couple were asked to explain their perspective of the past, present and future function of the *hammam* in the Shahshahan quarter. According to Mr. Fahami:

*Ghazi hammam was functioning till few years after the Islamic revolution of Iran. The owners of hammam attempted to use the hammam as a land for residential building as it struggled to be economically viable. At the same time the hammam was registered as a national monument in ICHHTO and there is no way to get permission to sell or only land. Additionally ICHHTO or municipalities were unable to purchase the hammam for future work or conservation. Afterward the owners faced by several problems and left the hammam to an inactive situation. Ghazi hammam was closed while the owners ignored their previous job and started to afford some other job activities.*

(Interview, March 2015)

Mr Fahami also mentioned the *hammam* caused several kinds of problems for the residential community as follows:

- *Barriers for vehicle parking or passageway*
- *Old sewage system of the hammam caused a bad odour in the surrounding houses*
- *Providing the gathering place for drug-addicted people making an unsafe atmosphere in Shahshahan quarter*
- *The social barriers of modernity and new job activities*

(Interview, March 2015)

In addition to this Mrs Fahami also confirmed that the *hammam* created an insecure and unpleasant atmosphere and the local community was not satisfied with the current situation, especially for their young children. Of course, during the interview Mr. and Mrs. Fahami also showed their positive feeling for the historical *hammam* but mostly argued that the *hammam*, without a conservation plan, could only bring pressure for the local community and promote various socio-cultural problems. More interesting for the argument here is that the relationship between the community and the *hammam* was unstable throughout time and changed from time to time. According to Nasser (2003) any sustainable future for historic contexts must be intrinsically linked to its past, not just in the continuity of the built heritage and urban spaces but also in the living culture that it created and is still shaping, the distinct townscape, or *genius loci*, that characterizes heritage places.

Mr Fahami added:

*Personally I had strong feeling to the hammam, formed by my nostalgic memories. However the hammam's destruction by local members highlighted socio-economic impact of the closure hammam on people's life style in the contemporary city. Of course before destruction some locals performed their dissatisfaction to the municipality and ICHHTO by applying questions to them in writing or oral but they never replied to any of missives. Subsequently they seemed to be hopeless and*



*apprehensive where nothing happens and some decided to destroy the hammam at nighttime by fire. In fact they showed their displeasure and dissatisfaction about the hammam circumstances.*

(Interview, March 2015)

During the interview, Mrs. Fahami also showed her positive impression of the *hammam*. She addressed some women's activities in the *hammam* and explained the advantages of the *hammam* for female visitors. According to Mrs. Fahami:

*Of course in mid Pahlavid period the majority of houses in Shahshahan quarter had their own bathhouse but the women still felt they wanted to use the hammam while it was still functioning. The hammam provided a place for the women to gather and gave them the opportunity to spend their time for proper washing procedures, using warm water, and traditional activities in the religious and old quarter of Isfahan.*

(Interview, March 2015)

In general, especially until the 1960's and in traditional quarters of the city, Iranian women had less access to public places than men, so most of the time that women spent outside the house was limited by the boundaries of the quarter, where they could commute freely and safely, with nothing to disturb them (Eickelman 1974). Soltani et al. (2013) highlighted the reasons for women's restriction to Iranian quarters in the past as the following:

- The quarter was controlled and supervised by its population.
- All daily requirements and needs were provided in the quarter.
- Going to other quarters for daily demands, goods and services was interpreted and understood negatively, especially for women.

Many Iranian quarters encountered modernity, urban development and the influence of different historical periods in the past decades and the socio-cultural boundaries of the quarters lost their characteristics, especially for women's activities (see Shahshahan quarter, Vazir quarter in Isfahan city). In addition to this

the inappropriate conservation or inadequate protection of some valuable traditional buildings in the quarters led to constant decay, vanishing in contemporary city (see *hammam*, Caravanserai, etc). The next interview, which was carried out with Mr. Khajoei, the head of listing and buffer zone of Isfahan in March 2015, also showed the reasons for the demolition of the Ghazi *hammam*. He asked to express his perspective about the *hammam* and its demolition as the following:

*Ghazi hammam devastating or demolition by local residents can be a good example to reveal different issues for the heritage conservation in Iran. Firstly local community attempted to show their feeling of annoyance or disapproval to the absence and lack of the hammam conservation and its recent condition. They believed that the key stakeholders like Isfahan municipality and ICHHTO are officially responsible for heritage protection. Furthermore some local members and especially young generation touched the hammam as a place, which can provide backward and out-fashioned activities and it is a barrier to progress and recent development in contemporary quarter. However the lack of attention and conservation by key stakeholders provided unsafe and unsecure place gathering and addressed some kind of social-cultural problems for local community. Of course some people also wanted to take advantages of the hammam demolition to reach their own goals like providing the land space extension for their own house, parking space and etc.*

(Interview, March 2015)

Mr Khajoei also argued that the rate of heritage devastation in Isfahan city has been increasing over recent decades. The protection of heritage assets and regeneration are all too often seen as opposing forces and heritage is normally misunderstood as a barrier to progress - something that needs to be overcome to enable development to take place (Great Britain: Parliament: House of Commons: Culture Media and Sport Committee 2006). Babic (2015:27) expressed that “the main issue regarding heritage exists on the level of use, or more precisely quality of heritage management”. Society’s responsibility in heritage protection should attempt to balance the social, economic and cultural needs of residents and create a safe and



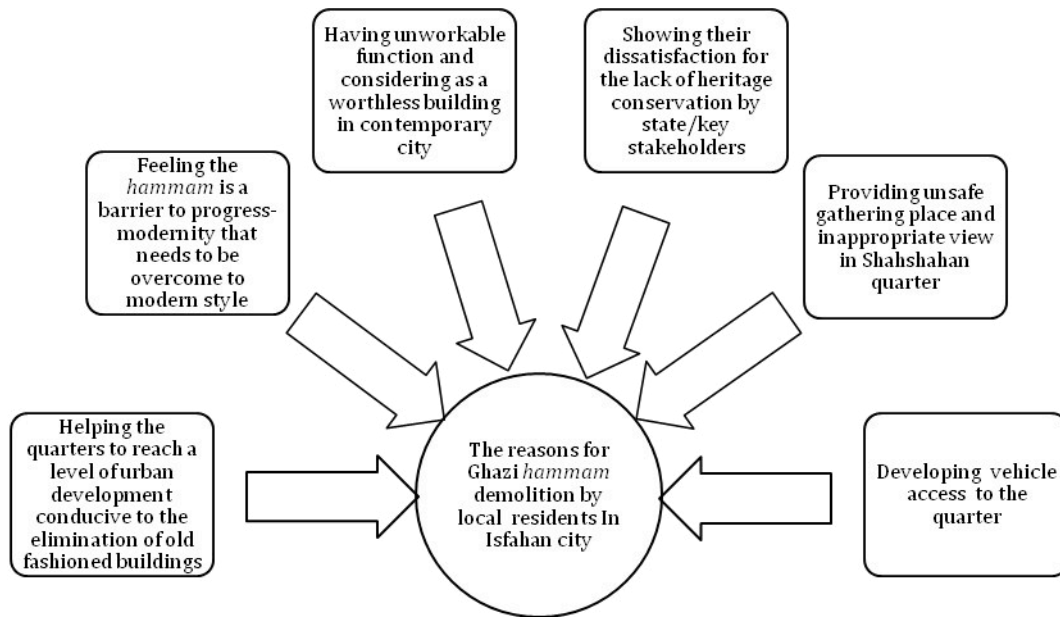
prosperous environment in which people want to live and work, now and in the future. It was clear that the Ghazi *hammam*, with no conservation plan with state or key stakeholders could not balance the needs and social desires of people during a specific period of time (1983 to 2004). According to Steinberg (1996) major cities in developing countries face similar issues related to high development pressure, a lack of concern for cultural heritage, and little or no public participation in the decision-making process in urban development and heritage conservation. Public participation can be defined as “a process by which people, especially disadvantaged people, can exercise influence over policy formulation, design alternatives, investment choices, management, and monitoring of development interventions in the communities” (UN-Habitat 2001:15). The condition of heritage sites or monuments in most old cities is determined largely by their present use and some which have no further utilization tend to decay rapidly, while monuments which are still in use have a better chance of being maintained (Steinberg 1996). Sarvarzadeh and Abidin (2012) also expressed that in Iran, urban heritage conservation and its management have faced two paradoxical problems like many developing countries. On one hand, rapid urban development which is formed based on high-speed economic growth and dramatic increase in the urban population growth and, on the other hand, increasing threats for cultural heritage, which is faced with changing lifestyles, losing authenticity and improper management in the process of urban conservation.

Mr. Khajoei in his interview (March 2015) mentioned that heritage devastation (see Ghazi *hammam* & Sheikh Bahaei house<sup>47</sup>) triggered strong emotional feelings in the local community and caused a fast reaction for conservation between the key stakeholders and individual investors. He also added while heritage devastation news is propagated by multimedia and newspapers, it leads to the need for a quick response by key stakeholders to form a future conservation plan or further

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<sup>47</sup> Sheikh Bahaei was a scholar, philosopher, architect, mathematician, astronomer and a poet in 16<sup>th</sup> Century Iran. His house is located next to Sheikh Bahaei *hammam*, one of the important and well-known historical *hammams* in Isfahan. Today the *hammam* is closed and under the supervision of ICHHTO. Sheikh Bahaei's house has been repaired by its new owners who bought the house and use as a private house.

protection. Postman (1976:170) noted, "Propaganda is language that invites us to respond emotionally, emphatically, more or less immediately, and in an either/or manner". According to Kellen and Lerner (trans) (1965:160) "Propaganda is the inevitable result of the various components of the technological society and plays central a role in the life of the society that no economic or political development can take place without the influence of its great power. Human relations in social relationships, advertising or human engineering in the economy, propaganda in the strictest sense in the field of politics - the need for psychological influence of spur allegiance and action is everywhere the decisive factor, which progress demands and which the individual seeks in order to be delivered from his own self". Doob (1948:240) also defined propaganda as, "the attempt to affect the personalities and to control the behaviour of individuals toward ends considered unscientific or of doubtful value in a society at a particular time". With the emphasis on the Ghazi *hammam*, it also confirmed the role of propaganda for heritage destruction by society and marked a turning point in the forward strategy for the *hammam*'s future conservation. Consequently the reasons for the Ghazi *hammam* demolition by local residents can be classified as the following (see Figure 6.26):



**Figure 6.26 The reasons for the Ghazi *hammam* demolition by local residents**  
Source: Author 2015

According to CHN News on the 27<sup>th</sup> June 2004, Mr Khajoei mentioned the technical experts from ICHHTO visited the *hammam* after its demolition and asked for emergency protection and a possible conservation plan (CHN News 2004). Consequently at the time the Ghazi *hammam* was demolished, with the co-operation of ICHHTO, the Isfahan municipality responded immediately, providing boundary walls and fences to avoid further destruction (see Figures 6.27 and 6.28).



**Figure 6.27 Ghazi *hammam* conservation in 2009**  
Source: UDRC [Accessed October 2014]



**Figure 6.28 Ghazi *hammam* conservation in 2009**  
Source: UDRC [Accessed October 2014]

Later the UDRC<sup>48</sup> Company showed their interest for the *hammam's* conservation and officially it came under their control in late 2009. They bought the Ghazi *hammam* and several neighbouring houses for the land extension in order to revive the Ghazi quarter with its historical architectural elements (see Tamizi house, Ghazi bazaar: see Figure 6.29).



**Figure 6.29 The Ghazi *hammam* under UDRC renovation (2009-2013)**

Source: Author 2014

The archival surveys, which were carried out by the author in October 2014, revealed the existence of different kinds of project plans, agreements and plots for the *hammam's* revival, neighbouring houses and surrounding area by the key

<sup>48</sup> The UDRC has been playing an important role in conservation and co-operation activities with individuals or state stakeholders for three registered *hammams* in ICHHTO (see Vazir *hammam*, Shah Ali *hammam* & Ghazi *hammam*) and two non-registered *hammams* in ICHHTO (see Sefid *hammam*, Panjshanbe Din *hammam*) in Isfahan city.

stakeholders. Documents were mostly prepared in September 2004 by the Renovation and Restoration Organization in Isfahan municipality and after 2009 by the UDRC.

The three official agreements between the UDRC and the individual multi-owners or their offspring were carried out between the 14<sup>th</sup> December 2009 and 12<sup>th</sup> May 2012 (see Appendix 5). Because of the *hammam* registration on the 13<sup>th</sup> November 2007 the co-operation agreement was also carried out between ICHHTO and UDRC in mid-2011 (see Appendix 6). The official agreements between UDRC and ICHHTO stated the following resolutions:

- The conservation plan for the Ghazi *hammam* by UDRC will be carried out under the supervision of the Iranian Urban Development and Revitalization Co-operation (Holding Corporation) in the Ministry of Roads & Urban Development in Iran.
- UDRC is responsible for providing facilities, necessary equipment and human resources to run the project.
- ICHHTO is responsible for providing conservation materials, products and appliances for the regeneration.

The next interview was carried out with the Head of the UDRC in Isfahan city, Mr. Geravand in October 2014. The interview provided some information about the UDRC Company's supervision of heritage conservation and especially the Ghazi *hammam* supervision from 2009 onwards. Mr. Geravand said:

*The UDRC started to study and examine the several old quarters or heritage site (see Ghazi quarter, Vazir quarter), which were not only under serious critical condition but also faced by lack of attention and ignorance of key stakeholders like Isfahan municipality, ICHHTO or multi-owners. Thus Ghazi hammam without any protection plan, long-standing and obsolete equipment has been supervised under the authority of UDRC for conservation and future functioning.*

(Interview, October 2014)

He believed that the various historical sites, monuments and old quarters of Isfahan were under threat of demolition over the last decade. He added ICHHTO as an official state organization neither take the responsibilities nor play an important role in heritage management. Therefore the UDRC contributed to this conservation and attempted to share practical responsibilities, duties and expertise with ICHHTO. Mr. Geravand also added:

*Lack of financial funding resources, skill shortages and the absence of responsible work in ICHHTO has been caused to keep ICHHTO backward in their work. The bureaucracy process and complex rules in ICHHTO couldn't provide the convenient relationship with individual investors for heritage management. Today the cooperation of UDRC and individual investors seems to be more effective to run the projects of revival the historical part or heritage buildings in Isfahan city.*

(Interview, October 2014)

Mr. Geravand also confirmed the UDRC attempts to get involved with the projects of heritage conservation under the supervision of individual owners but without any deed or instrument by which a *waqf* has been created (see Shah Ali *hammam*<sup>49</sup>, Ghazi *hammam*). He also added the *waqf* monuments under the supervision of endowment organizations can bring some problematic issues, conditions and difficulties for the conservation process and future functionality. Marcus (1985:123) mentioned, "As an act of religious virtue, the charitable *waqf* gave the donor the opportunity to help not only the community but his own soul as well, since it was believed that by such acts for public good the wealthy could elicit divine mercy and redeem themselves". In addition, according to Fars News on the 10<sup>th</sup> August 2011, the Head of the endowment organization in Iran, Mr Haj Mohammadi Sirat<sup>50</sup> noted:

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<sup>49</sup> UDRC did some limited conservation of the Shah Ali *hammam* till 2004. Lately the Shah Ali *hammam* was sold to an individual Iranian investor (Mr. Shah Miveh) and one foreign investor. Therefore all responsibilities were assigned to individual investors for further conservation and the *hammam* management from 2004 onwards.

<sup>50</sup> Mr Haj Mohammadi Sirat has been working as the Head of the Endowment Organization and Charitable Activities since November 2009 under the direct supervision and guardianship of the Islamic jurists (Current Supreme Leader of Iran: Ali Khamenei).



*The responsible supervision for waqf properties is much more difficult and problematic than other normal properties without any waqf deeds. There are different types of problems for registration, lawful issues and forms of management for waqf properties by state or key stakeholders. Of course currently people normally ignore and don't pay attention to the socio-cultural aspects and the main purpose of waqf properties. The spiritual rewards of endowed properties can also bring worldly honour to an individual and a family, which was widely recognized.*

(Quote from Mr Haj Mohammadi Sirat 2011)

Islamic jurisprudence strongly advocates the notion of endorsing socio-economic of *waqf* properties and profusely supports and promotes them (Sepanta 1967). According to Stibbard et al. (2012) the history of *waqf* in Iran is of interest because it is a Shia rather than Sunni country. The king, *Shah* of Iran, who had great political significance and was the source of much power took full responsibility and controlled *waqf* properties and this was also a source of much corruption (Stibbard et al. 2012). Consequently the Ghazi *hammam* which does not have a *waqf* deed, has occasionally been renovated by the UDRC from 2009 onwards. During the interview Mr Gervand was also asked about the sporadic and occasional work for *hammam* renovation. He replied it was because of the variety and number of conservation projects in the old quarter of Isfahan city that the UDRC still has not finished the Ghazi *hammam* project for future functionality. He also mentioned the difficulties of providing modern facilities with adaptation to the past and the original usage by the company and confirmed obviously the *hammam* has also been faced with lack of financial support for the further regeneration. Recently some interested hotel managers and individual investors (see the Antique Hotel in Shahshahan quarter, close to the *hammam*) showed their incentive and motivation for the project and further work. However, the UDRC still showed no compromise to make any official agreement with any interested hotel. During my visits to the Ghazi *hammam*, from 2012 to 2015, I noticed that the renovation project had been postponed. Today the *hammam* finds itself with incomplete conservation in a renewed *bazaar* with several renovated historical houses, which are recently now used as hotels (see the Antique

Hotel, Tolu Khorshid Hotel, Ibn Sina Hotel). Actually one of the main purposes of fieldwork observation was to perceive the *hammam*'s condition in the Ghazi *bazaar* and neighbouring shops after the rehabilitation of the Shahshahan quarter and observing the *hammam* in its natural setting in the *bazaar*. Furthermore, I tended to involve local participant observation rather than just my own observation. Spradley (1980) argues that all participant observation takes place in social situations and provides a framework in order to guide researchers. He also mentions as a "Place, Actors and Activities", the six additional dimensions including "Object, act, event, time, goal, and feeling" also take place in all social situations. The survey results in the Ghazi quarter revealed the satisfaction of local residents of the Shahshahan quarter rehabilitation, restoration of the *bazaar* and the *hammam* renovation. The *hammam* renovation has faced some challenges and the project was postponed but the *hammam* will soon find its place in a modern style through adaptation from the past. Mr Fahami, the representative of the residential community also claimed that:

*Today, local community is completely satisfied with the hammam project. I believe that the hammam, by providing new and modern activities in adaptation to the past provides some more facilities, conveniences and economic benefits for the community. It also gives the opportunity to introduce the Shahshahan quarter and its historical features for tourist attraction (see Haj Younesi mosque, Shahshahan palace).*

(Interview, March 2015)

Mr Fahami believed that the *hammam* must provide the traditional activities with a modern style that can offer visitors satisfaction in the present day. He added it must also postulate some kind of benefits and facilities for local residents in the Shahshahan quarter to use the *hammam* and its new activities in future. In addition he also shed light on the provision of some kind of traditional job activities besides the future *hammam* usage, for example producing traditional *hammam* cloths (*long*) or a special *hammam* tower which can highlight those traditional job activities in the contemporary city. He expressed:



*Ghazi hammam, which was located in one of the traditional parts of the city, provided several old jobs in this quarter and in bazaar (next to the hammam). Mostly, the traditional jobs and their related activities have disappeared and people are considered 'useless' or 'too old' in the current job market in Iran as well as in Isfahan. Unfortunately there is no idea or perspectives for renewing those activities, as it seems some locals considered them as backward jobs and activities.*

(Interview, March 2015)

He also added the majority of local shops, which are located around the *hammam* provided for the daily requirements of local people such as a bakery, butcher's shop, traditional breakfast, cobbling shoes, nut shops and *Long*. He highlighted the traditional activities which spin yarn to produce a special kind of *Long* which was the symbol of the *hammam's* activities in the Ghazi quarter. Nowadays many traditional job activities such as producing *hammam* cloths using special tools; instruments which accompany traditional songs have disappeared. As Mr Fahami also stated those kinds of job activities next to the *hammam* were characteristic of the Shahshahan quarter in the past. Mr Fahami also claimed that the Ghazi *hammam* would have an invaluable opportunity for revival and to show the traditional *hammam's* products to the younger generation, domestic or international visitors. He believed that some young visitors and international tourists are not familiar with the culture of cleaning and washing styles in the past and the Ghazi *hammam* could be representative of an actual *hammam* for providing the traditional bathing activities in the contemporary city. While visiting the Ghazi *hammam* during the years (2012-2015), the neighbouring shops now only provide three kinds of work activities out of twelve in the past. Today there are only two art galleries (*Monabat Kari*<sup>51</sup> and *Ghalam Zani*<sup>52</sup>) and a Chandelier shop available in the Ghazi *bazaar* and the others are closed. The next interview was carried out in March 2015 with the

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<sup>51</sup> *Monabat Kari*, Wood carving, is a form of working wood by means of a cutting tool (knife) in one hand or a chisel using both hands or with one hand on a chisel and one hand on a mallet, resulting in a wooden figure or figurine, or in the sculptural ornamentation of a wooden object (Foroughi 2012).

<sup>52</sup> *Ghalam Zani*, Metal fabrication is the building of metal structures by cutting, bending, and assembling processes (Foroughi 2012).

recent owner of the two art galleries,. Mr Hamid. However, Mr Hamid only seemed interested in talking with the author rather than including the owner of other shop (Chandelier shop). The owner of Chandelier shop was reluctant to discuss the *hammam* and his previous and present job activities in the Ghazi quarter. Thus the interview was only carried out only with Mr Hamid, the owner of two art galleries since 2000. Firstly, he was encouraged to discuss his job activities and then he was asked about the perceptions, opinions and attitudes towards the *hammam* regeneration and also his future job activities in the Shahshahan quarter. He said:

*Actually I am not originally from this area of the Shahshahan quarter, as I bought shops in 2000 to provide a workshop for some kind of art activities. The hammam and the historical mosque (see Haj Younesi) and surrounding area can play an important role for my future activities. Furthermore recently there are a large number of tourist attractions and hotels located around the quarter. Therefore whenever the conservation of the hammam will be finished, the Ghazi area will be much better well known for visitors and especially for international tourists. I believe that the local people still do not know about the value and condition of the hammam in last decade. In my mind they still understand the benefits and advantages of socio-economic aspects of the renewed hammam in the near future.*

(Interview, March 2015)

Mr Hamid showed a very positive attitude towards his job activities in the neighbouring *hammam*. He also believed that the *hammam*, with original function, would make the Ghazi quarter one of the important tourist attractions in the city. Overall the process of the conservation in the Ghazi quarter has shown an up-turn in tourism of both locals and international visitors over the last decade. The examples like the renovation of several historical houses, the conservation of the old quarter and reconfiguration of some historical attractions in the Shahshahan quarter are available to attract visitors to this old part of the city. Those examples also provide a new attitude towards many historical houses to be used as hotels in this district. For example, the historical Tamizi house, which was under the authority of the Urban

Company, was sold to the Khorshid Hotel Group and was renovated as a hotel from 2104 onwards. Thus the house is now named the 'Antique hotel' and was opened in October 2014 under the management of Khorshid Hotel Group in Isfahan city. The next interview was carried out with the recent manager of Antique hotel, Mr Bazmi, who showed his strong interest for continuing the *hammam* project under the management of the Antique hotel. He was interviewed based on his efforts to take on the *hammam* supervision a few years ago. The interview was carried out in the Antique hotel in October 2014 with the purpose of trying to understand the perspectives of the hotel manager with regard to the *hammam* conservation and its upcoming function in the Shahshahan quarter. Mr Bazmi discussed:

*Tamizi house<sup>53</sup> in the Shahshahan quarter, which newly opened as the 'Antique hotel' originally used as a private residence in the Qajar dynasty. Later the house was bought by UDRC, had limited renovation in 2010 and used as UDRC office till end of March 2014. Later the house bought by the Khorshid Hotel Group on 19<sup>th</sup> March 2014 and received official permission from ICHHTO to be used as a hotel. Therefore the Antique hotel was officially opened in Spring 2014. The hotel provides 19 rooms and caters for around 40 guests. The hotel groups' strategies attempt to supervise and take possible responsibilities for some tourist interest in the Shahshahan quarter like the Ghazi hammam. The hammam can play an important role for the hotel marketing and have chance to provide new and unique facilities beside the hotel.*

(Interview, October 2014)

Mr Bazmi argued that unfortunately in Iran the majority of renewed historical *hammams* have been used as traditional restaurants or tea houses. He argued the *hammam* in the Shahshahan quarter has the potential to provide traditional washing activities for visitors, especially international users who stay in historical hotels as guest in neighbouring area. He also mentioned:

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<sup>53</sup> The house was registered in ICHHTO on 14<sup>th</sup> September 2003, ICHHTO registration number: 10226.

*The Khorshid Hotel Group submitted a proposal to UDRC for further co-operation. The Company has still not received any answer to its proposal to enter a co-operation contract, agreement or financial support. In my view individual investors seem to be more effective to run this project again. Of course it would be difficult for the Khorshid Hotel Group to buy the hammam but it can provide a possible opportunity for project continuity. However UDRC seems too conservative to co-operate or move the project to individual investors like the Antique hotel.*

(Interview, October 2014)

According to Ashworth (2002) heritage needs capital, labour, space and even the attention of politicians and managers, all of which have alternative and competing uses. Thus Ashworth (2002) also added heritage products compete for consumers, whether these are tourists or occupiers of building space.

## 6.5 Summary

The case studies in this chapter analyzed the varied condition of the three historical *hammams* in the contemporary city of Isfahan. The chapter attempted to make a relationship with the past, where history was concerned with the causes and effects of changes in the *hammams* over time. In doing so, the case studies mainly highlighted the second study's main research question, which addresses the contribution of the *hammams* and their current condition within the study of tourism. Thus the chapter aimed to address the multi-dimensional aspects of *hammams* with different features, uses and conditions for tourism purposes, to highlight the similarities and differences between these three cases in the contemporary city and to build support for the findings based on different theoretical schemes.

The first part of this chapter studied the Khosrow Agha *hammam* as a ruin, reflecting its current indeterminate status in the city and sought to articulate the idea of the ruin for studying the *hammam* as a cultural heritage with its rich historical background. According to Derrida (1992) "The ruin has an intermediary

status between fiction and reality, memory and delusion, past and present” (as cited in Xie 2015:216). Thus the current condition of the Khosrow Agha *hammam* as a ruin revealed not only the effect of different historical periods on the *hammam*’s destruction but it also developed the idea of the recent *hammam*’s management. Perceptibly, the *hammam* exists not so much in its own right in the current city, but under the special circumstances and with the proper management, the *hammam* will be able to appeal to visitors and develop a value beyond its physical entity.

The second part of this chapter presented the Dardasht *hammam* with its different functionalities that has been continuously changing and up-dating with new features over recent decades. In other words this *hammam* is one of those few renovated *hammams* as a built heritage in the city and it has faced challenges to find suitable functionality in the contemporary city. A direct solution and function for the *hammam* seemed to be difficult to find, either due to the different contribution of key stakeholders, variety of viewpoints or insufficient knowledge. Then it was not possible to maintain functionality and preserve all heritage values; different authorities interfered to prioritize each functionality.

Lastly, the analysis of the Ghazi *hammam* as a third case study presented a *hammam* that is currently under renovation and pursuing restoration to its original use. Accordingly, after the restoration is complete it will allow visitors to experience the traditional *hammam* with adaptation of modern services and facilities. Thus the *hammam* can be offered to the public and determine direct tourist use with original use in the historic setting of the city. Therefore, the renovation process of the Ghazi *hammam* incorporates traditional forms of activities with modern style, new structure and facilities.

To summarize, this chapter focused on the main attitudes towards heritage through the three case studies, three historical *hammams* in the contemporary city of Isfahan: ruins, readjusted and continuing their original uses.

## ***Chapter 7***

### ***Vartoon Hot Spring, Isfahan***



## *7.1 Introduction*

This chapter examines the significance of hot springs in Isfahan province, focusing on analysis of the Vartoon hot spring, which is located 65 km from Isfahan. It also attempts to highlight the dimensions of the Vartoon hot spring and its project development for contributing to the health tourism sector in Isfahan province. Thus the chapter is divided into different parts: Vartoon hot spring and its historical background, the project of hot spring development by individual investors and the attributes of the critical aspects through the project. The analysis shows how different stakeholders take into account many different interests involved in the project. Accordingly this chapter studies the tensions that derive from hot spring development, viewed through the eyes of the local community and individual investors involved in the development of the Vartoon hot spring.

## *7.2 Hot Spring Resources in Isfahan Province*

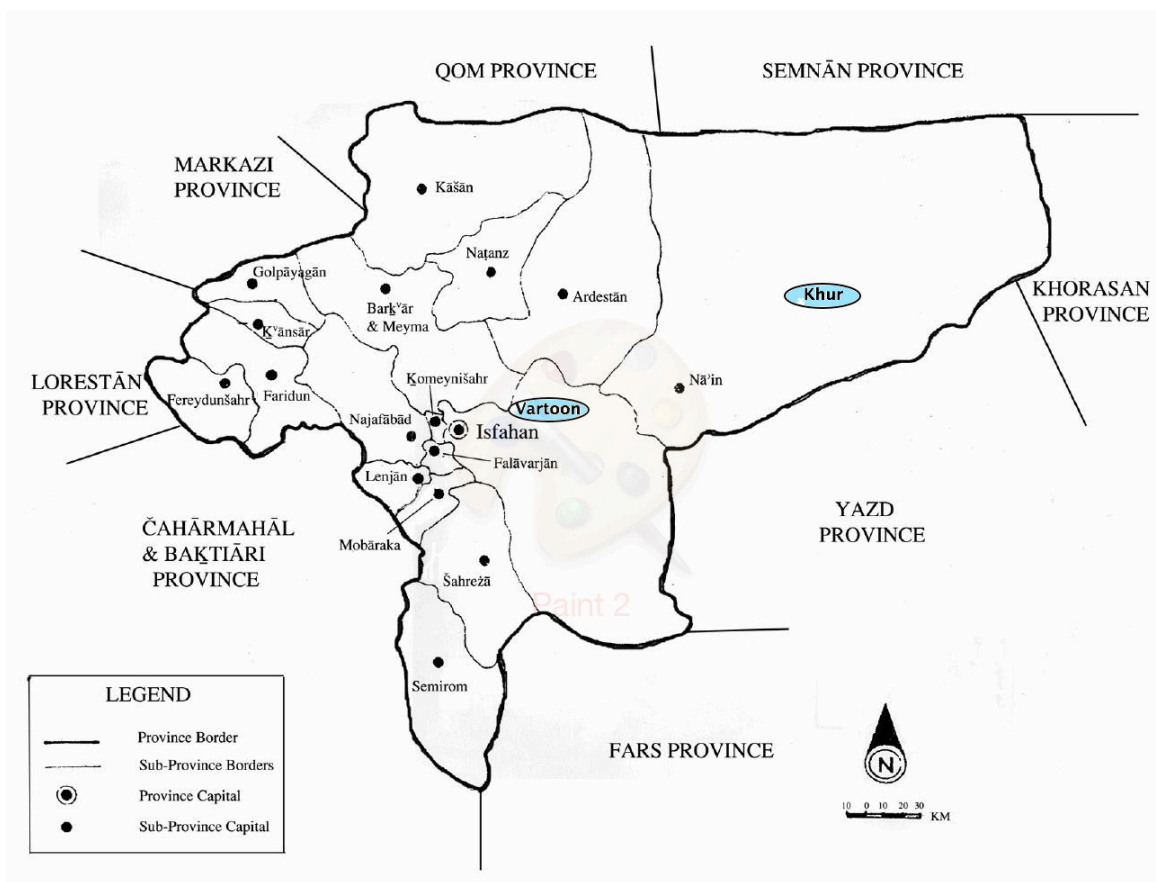
The eastern areas of Isfahan province are located in the western margins of arid and semi-arid regions of Iran and the western parts lay in the eastern hill slopes of the Zagros Mountains. Thus, Isfahan province can be divided into three topographic and climatic regions based on their distance from the Zagros mountains in the west and the great desert in the east: (1) Semi-humid and cold areas encompassing the western and southern valleys; (2) The arid areas along the edge of the central desert in the east; (3) The semi-arid region of the oasis of Isfahan — with the Zayanderood river, as its main water resource. The Zayanderood River was the most important river in Isfahan province on the central plateau of Iran. The river source was located in the Koohrang Mountains and passed through two Provinces: Chaharmahal Bakhtiari<sup>54</sup> and Isfahan. The river at its end discharges into the Gavkhooni wetland and it was used for drinking, industrial and agricultural purposes in the past. The river provided the basis for centuries of important economic activity, including the

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<sup>54</sup> Chaharmahal Bakhtiari lies in the southwestern part of Iran and the capital is Shahrekord city.



growth and establishment of Isfahan itself as the former capital city of Iran from the eastern part of the city to the west. The region had been able to support a long tradition of irrigated agricultural land and also meet the domestic needs of a substantial population as well as for the urban water supply to Isfahan city. Astonishingly the river dried up after several years of seasonal droughts in early 2010. This was a consequence of droughts but also human action, such as poor planning and mis-management. Subsequently, not only the climate changed, but also the attitudes towards rural development also changed, affecting the economic, environmental and social status of communities and villages in the province. Then the importance of hot springs and their development arises in Isfahan province. According to current Iranian administrative divisions there are two hot spring resources in Isfahan province, Vartoon and Khur (see Figure 7.1). They are located in the eastern part of the province, in desert landscapes and with arid climates. However, these two hot spring resources could not be properly developed and were ignored because of a lack of attention from both the authority and individual investors for a long period of time.



**Figure 7.1 Location of Two hot springs, Isfahan province**

Source: Iranicaonline.org (Modified by Author) [Accessed November 2016]

Several reasons can be expressed why development was not being carried out for hot spring resources in Isfahan province in the past and why these hot springs were not well known. The development of hot spring resources was significantly dependent on its location, arid climate, water shortage, local settlement and socio-cultural issues. According to Walcher (2008), Isfahan province expanded more towards the western areas in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, that is the first access to water. Along the eastern rim innumerable villages had been abandoned and fallen into ruins. Therefore the eastern areas were often ignored for tourism planning and the development of natural resources. However, religion played a more important role in tourism planning; tourism development and adaptation of rural areas of Iran, especially in desert areas where strong religious and cultural backgrounds can cause change or loss of local identity and values (Rahmani 2012). With the focus on

one hot spring resource in Isfahan province a number of key players make a vital contribution to changing the attitude towards the Vartoon hot spring development as follows:

- New tourism planning strategy in rural areas and domestic tourism growth in Iran/Isfahan.
- Recent knowledge of a potential tourism destination in desert areas.
- Rural development in the Eastern part of Isfahan province.
- Facing a water shortage crisis in Isfahan province and looking for new development opportunities for other natural resources.

The next section provides an introduction to the history of the Vartoon hot spring, the historical building and its features. In this regard special places in these societies received a symbolic value and act as landmarks which are shaped by ideology and images of water.

### *7.3 Vartoon Hot Spring: Background Information*

The Vartoon hot spring is in an area which is also called the Red Flower Health Village according to the etymology of Vartoon, it is derived from Vart or Vard which means red flower in ancient Persian. It is located approximately 65 km east of Isfahan city, and is surrounded by the villages of Vartoon, Zefreh and Zafarghand (see Figure 7.2).



**Figure 7.2 Three main villages in the Vartoon district**

Source: Google Map [Accessed November 2015]

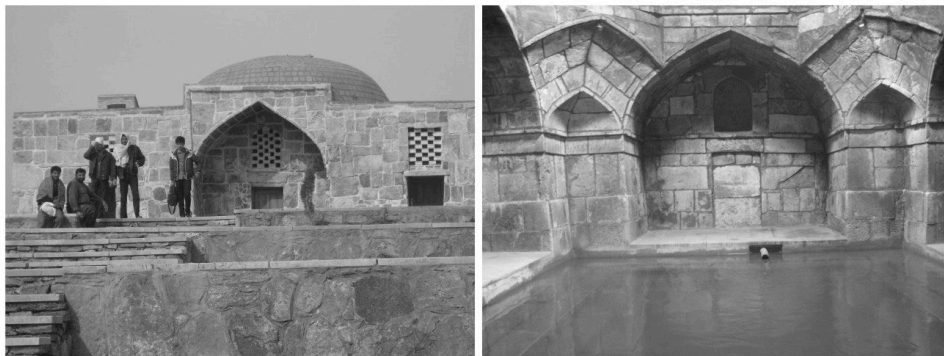
Historical evidence shows that Vartoon hot spring had its cultural values, spiritual significance as well as religious practices in the Seljuqs period (1040–1196) and later in the Safavid period (1501–1722). Architecturally it dates back to the Seljuqs period, when it was built, but it was restored during the Safavid dynasty. Generally, natural resources such as hot springs are a matter of great pride to local communities as they are seen as a benefit for villages and the surrounding area. They often involve a rich mythology around the discovery of a hot spring and its spiritual aspects. Vartoon hot spring is traditionally attributed as having healing powers to warrior commander, Taregh Turk, since a supernatural creature was cured there after consecutive wars. In addition to this for the native population, the hot spring was the example of sacred places in the desert and arid climates. According to collectors of local tales, the inspiring stories told of the spirituality of

Vartoon hot spring. Based on local legendary the religious practice (*Tawaf*<sup>55</sup>) was carried out around several pools with different curative treatments. The pools with porches were located alongside a corridor, which started at the source of the hot spring and ended in the main thermal building. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Paul (1955) believed that health ideas have a great influence on how people feel about their religion, culture, cosmology and kinship. Today the pools are under renovation (see Figure 7.3) and the main historical thermal building was registered as a national monument on the 27<sup>th</sup> May 2008<sup>56</sup> (see Figure 7.4).



**Figure 7.3 The historical pools under renovation in the Vartoon thermal area**

Source: Author 2014



**Figure 7.4 The main historical thermal building in the Vartoon thermal area**

Source: Author 2014

<sup>55</sup> *Tawaf* is one of the Islamic rituals of pilgrimage during the Hajj in Mecca. Muslims are to circumambulate the Kaaba (the most sacred site in Islam) seven times, in a counterclockwise direction.

<sup>56</sup> ICHHTO registration number: 22935.

## 7.4 Methodology

The research methodology used in this study focuses on field observations, especially in the Vartoon district, of the new project development and with the local community in Vartoon village. This work helped understanding of the relationship between investors and the local community during the project. The author's observation and fieldwork study was carried out between March 2012 and March 2015. Archival research was also carried out with the ICHHTO, Endowment Organization and the Renovation and Restoration Organization in the Isfahan municipality to search out the related documents of the Vartoon hot spring resource. Table 7.1 summarizes the different activities of data collection at that time in the Vartoon hot spring district and related organizations.

Activity	Details	Description and timeline
Preparatory visit to Vartoon hot spring	Initial visit and direct observations of the Vartoon hot spring and neighboring areas Identification of key stakeholders, Individual investors to be interviewed for the research	March 2012
Semi-structured interviews with Individual investors in Vartoon hot spring district: Mr Kardan, Mr Azizi		
Semi-structured interviews with Individual investors in Vartoon hot spring district: Mr Kardan, Mr Azizi	Target: Focus directly on Vartoon hot spring development and its new project	March 2014 September 2014
Semi-Structure Interview with the deputy of investment services in ICHHTO office in Isfahan: Mr Molaei	Target: Focus directly on Vartoon hot spring development and its new project	February 2014
Informal conversations and two-way communication with local residents in Vartoon village	Target: Focus directly on Vartoon hot spring development and its new project	March 2014-March2015 (Mainly October 2014)
Semi-Structure Interview with the Doyen of Vartoon Village, The member of city council in Vartoon village	Target: Focus directly on Vartoon hot spring development and its new project, Village information	September 2014
Seeking out: Archival research, Hard copy and similar documents for Vartoon hot spring	Target: Focus directly on documents about Vartoon hot spring in the past and present: In ICHHTO, Endowment organization and Renovation and restoration organization in Isfahan municipality	March 2012- March 2014

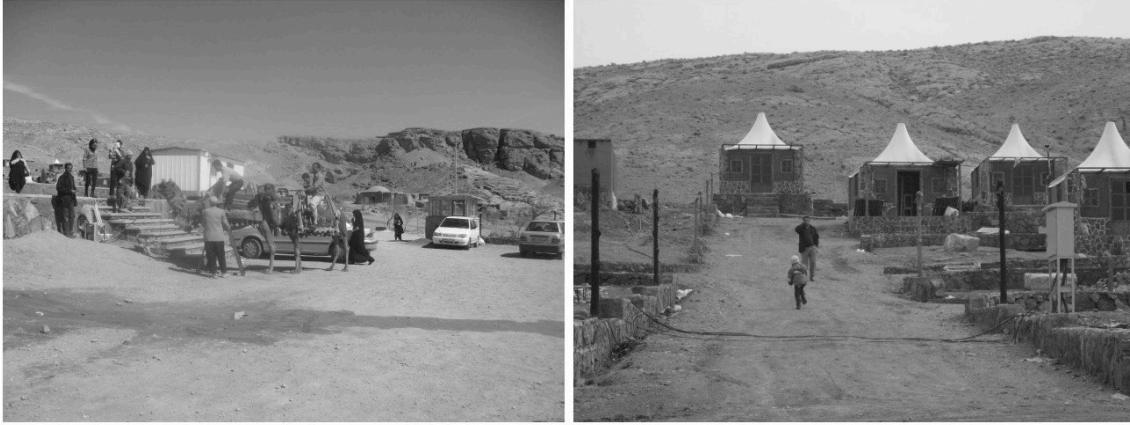
**Table 7.1 Summary of data collection: Vartoon hot spring**  
Source: Author (2012-2015)

## *7.5 Project on Vartoon Hot Spring Development*

The Vartoon hot spring was not commercialized and developed until 2011. As expected, local residents in neighboring villages used the Vartoon hot spring before 2011, the hot spring project has been under the supervision of two individual investors. They started to develop services, build facilities and promote a new attitude towards domestic and international tourists (see health tourism, rural tourism) in the Vartoon district. The project development of the Vartoon hot spring was divided into three phases and started in late March 2011 under the supervision of individual investors, Mr Kardan and Mr Azizi. It was interrupted for a few months after opening but it has now been working continuously since 2012. Thus the first phase of the project was officially inaugurated in May 2014. The whole area of the project is 120 hectares. The first phase, with 12.5 hectares, included 3500 square metres for building infrastructures, 5 hectares for green space and 3 hectares for landscaping. The project provided water tanks to store approx. 500,000 litres of water (at a temperature of 38-42 degrees). The Vartoon district and neighbouring villages had several kinds of natural water resources and drinking water transferred from Zefreh village<sup>57</sup> for the project. The first phase sustained and continued the activities in the historical thermal building but simultaneously it provided new build facilities for further activities such as massage rooms, accommodation, outdoor restaurants and several recreational activities such as camel riding and mountain biking (see Figure 7.5). The regeneration and conservation of the ruined site will continue to the next phases of the project.

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<sup>57</sup> Zefreh village is 12 km to the southwest of Vartoon hot spring.



**Figure 7.5 New build facilities in the Vartoon thermal area**

Source: Author 2014

The rejuvenation of Vartoon hot spring activities can also generate several spa activities. Based on the ISPA classification<sup>58</sup> (2014), the Vartoon project is close to several kinds of spa adaptation according to its own characteristics (see Table 7.2).

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<sup>58</sup> Since the modern concept of Spas was established in the United States, one of the most comprehensive categorizations comes from the International Spa Association in 2014 (ISPA 2014).



Spas classification	Their characteristics	Vartoon Spas adaptation to ISPA classification
<b>Club Spa</b>	Is a facility offering primarily fitness services as well as a few other services rendered to daily users normally by Spas in the broader sense.	<b>X (No)</b>
<b>Day Spa</b>	Is a facility offering beauty, fitness and wellness programs without accommodation and the duration of services varies between an hour and a full day.	<b>√ (Yes)</b>
<b>Hotel Spa</b>	A Spa Offering hotel accommodation and normally several days of all-inclusive programs designed to ensure physical, Spiritual and mental balance.	<b>√ (Yes)</b>
<b>Holistic Spa</b>	A Spa that Offers alternative therapy and diet (For instance vegetarian or macrobiotic cuisine) in an effort to make positive adjustments to mindset of guests.	<b>√ (Yes)</b>
<b>Medical Spa</b>	Is a facility that offers traditional and complementary therapeutic and health protection treatment as well as other services and may also include health institutions.	<b>√ (Yes)</b>
<b>Bath</b>	A Spa constructed to utilize natural mineral, medicinal or seawater located on site by offering hydrotherapy to guests.	<b>√ (Yes)</b>
<b>Resort Spa</b>	A resort in a remote location of beautiful natural setting normally detached from civilization, offering a wide array of wellness services and programs in an inclusive arrangement to guests.	<b>√ (Yes)</b>
<b>Sport Spa</b>	An establishment offering Spa services and special sports programs (the latter could range from golf through skiing and angling to training for running the Marathon).	<b>√ (Yes)</b>
<b>Structured Spa</b>	An establishment operating by a strict rule, which offers guests the chance to attain a specific objective (e.g. weight loss).	<b>X (No)</b>

**Table 7.2 Vartoon Spas adaptation to ISPA classification 2014**  
Source: ISPA 2014

## 7.6 Discussion

While visiting Vartoon hot spring and its new development during the period from 2012 to 2015, the author noted some divergences between the local residents in Vartoon village and individual investors who took part in the development of the new project. Semi-structured interviews with the two individual investors were conducted in the location of the research area and consisted of open-ended questions. The investors' views emerged naturally and facilitated genuine responses. At this stage the main objective of these open-ended questions was to explore the factors that influenced the motivation for investment in Isfahan province and to know the main important issues and problems from the owner's point of view. The first interview was carried out with Mr. Kardan, one of the individual investors, in March 2014. At that time he argued that the first idea of the project involvement came from his attachment and love to his motherland, Isfahan. Mr. Kardan expressed that:

*Water scarcity and severe drought in Isfahan affects several kinds of mental disorders. The drying up of the Zayanderood river not only influenced the economy, domestic tourism, climate, heritage and agriculture problems but also had a great influence on people's daily lives and mental illnesses. The Zayanderood river had been playing an important role for people based on their strong feeling for their city. Mostly local residences in the eastern part of Isfahan migrated to other parts of the city and it seemed some part with their own natural potential and attraction was overlooked in the rural development and tourism investment.*

(Interview, March 2014)

As mentioned in Chapter 1, historical attachment to a place has been of interest to many scholars (see Kohák 1984; Edward Relph 1976; Tuan 1977) and their analysis of place attachment is varied. Some scholars focus on homes and sacred places, and emphasized the unique emotional experiences and bonds of people with places. "Place for many social scientists other than geographers was not even a relevant

category, and many studies of communities, towns, or villages presented only the barest analyses of people/place bonding, or even descriptions of physical environments” (Altman and Low 2012:2). Manzo et al. (2013) argue that although the predominant approach to place attachment has been static rather than dynamic, nevertheless good examples could be found of studies where change has been foregrounded. They also mentioned the special studies can be simply classified in terms of whether their predominant focus is upon changes to people (e.g. linked to life-course development; impacts on personal mobility) or changes to places (e.g. arising from natural disasters, changes to the built environment, social change or legal designation). Focusing on the Vartoon hot spring, Mr. Kardan believed that people from Isfahan normally use hot spring facilities in the neighbouring area or other provinces of Iran (see Mahallat hot springs<sup>59</sup>) due to a lack of appropriate facilities for visitors. Mr. Kardan also mentioned:

*Vartoon hot spring and its special location in an arid area has played a vital role in health tourism generating individually either domestic or international interest. It also acts as a major factor in travel motivation for local residents in Isfahan and nearby cities. I believe that the combination of a hot spring and its location in a desert area can arguably be attributed to the potential of Vartoon hot spring in Isfahan province. With the focus on Vartoon hot spring, the combination of natural resources, desert landscape and the location provide special circumstances for development.*

(Interview, March 2014)

Mr. Kardan emphasized that the key stakeholders like the public sector and individual investors have to find out the potential of rural development in the eastern part of the city and feel the positive attitudes for development and new investment. He explained the Vartoon hot spring development could strengthen rural economies and enhance their socio-cultural vitality among the surviving groups in the village when they agree to co-operate with investors on certain terms.

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<sup>59</sup> Mahallat is the capital of Mahallat County, Markazi Province, Iran. The city is famous for a large number of hot springs which are not far from the city and make the main attraction for visitors particularly from nearby cities like Isfahan, Tehran, Markazi and etc.

He meant the development could provide the facilities both for visitors and local residents based on the local community's acceptance. The interview with Mr. Kardan shed light on the problem of Vartoon hot spring development. He argued that neighbouring villages (see especially Vartoon village) are lagging behind in their new development due to the inappropriate requirement from investors. He assumed:

*When the project started, the main and most important problem was the local community. The local conflict in Vartoon has greatly decelerated the processes of the project since the beginning. The community viewed the investors as their enemy who want to dominate their land area.*

(Interview, March 2014)

Mr. Kardan mentioned hot spring development in Vartoon resulted from reciprocal interactions among the host community and investors. For tourism development, the multiple social relationships within the local community are of importance for creating networks and co-operation between different stakeholders (Clarke 2005). McIntosh et al. (1995 as cited in Richards and Hall 2003:244) indicated that "tourism development should contain elements of community involvement including: raising the living standards of local people, developing facilities for visitors and residents, and ensuring the types of development are consistent with the cultural, social and economic philosophy of the government and the people of the host area".

Mr. Kardan also classified the main obstacles of the Vartoon project:

- *Few research studies related to socio-cultural aspects of rural development.*
- *Unavailable terms and conditions for rural development in ICHHTO.*
- *The gap and conflict between the host community and investors.*
- *Lack of safety and security in the Vartoon district and nearby villages.*
- *Lack of financial and social support from related organizations.*
- *Lack of rural infrastructures in the eastern part of the city.*

- *Problems with illegal immigration of Afghan workers (e.g. Afghan citizens who have more responsibility to work).*

(Interview, March 2014)

He also confirmed that co-operation between different stakeholders must be present for the project to be successful. Co-operation between the ICHHTO, Endowment Organization, the host community and investors plays an essential role in project development. Mr. Kardan believed that the state or national government are also responsible for providing financial support for local initiative requirements and improve their knowledge for further development. By building knowledge in destination communities local people can be placed in a better position to determine their own needs and direct tourism development in their own communities (Hall 2008; Korten 1981; Timothy 2000). Mr Kardan mentioned it is impossible for individual investors to provide all local demands and, in some cases, it is outside of their legal duties. He also added:

*Health/rural tourism plays a substantial role in economic improvement in Vartoon village and nearby areas. The experience only revealed that the local community had unrealistic expectations of obtaining new infrastructure and facilities without any effort and co-operation by the investors. I believe that time will show the local community to touch the tangible and intangible advantages of the hot spring development which can provide them economic benefits and village progress.*

(Interview, March 2014)

Resident involvement and forms of participation in the benefits of tourism bring the opportunities and chances for community members to own businesses, to work in various industry-related jobs, to receive appropriate training, and to be educated about the role and effect of tourism in their community (Tosun, Timothy, and Öztürk 2003). The next interview was carried out with another investor, Mr. Azizi, in September 2014. He also mentioned his motivation for the Vartoon hot spring development and expressed the same perspective as Mr. Kardan:

*Generally hot springs facilities are widely used by people in Iran for vacation, treatments and some health treatments. In my view the geographical location of Vartoon hot spring and its close location to Isfahan city plays a significant role to invest in the project. According to the purpose and preference of recent visitors for using hot springs in Iran, the facilities should keep their traditional values and symbols but provide modern types of activities for visitors. Vartoon hot spring has great potential to keep the traditional symbols of water activities and also provide modern facilities.*

(Interview, September 2014)

He also explained the project attempted to provide standard modern Spa activities, reactivate traditional hot spring facilities, accommodation, outdoor restaurants in an arid climate for different types of visitors. Mr. Azizi highlighted the revival of traditional activities besides the rich historical background of the Vartoon hot spring performing a significant role for health, rural and eco-tourism development. "In many parts of the world in which tourism has been introduced, traditional primary activities have had a long established priority, both in terms of economic importance and because of their often intricate links with cultural patterns and behaviour" (Butler 2003:68). They also added tourism is often seen as being in direct competition with these traditional activities and in such situations integration rather than imposition is essential and crucial if development is to be successful. Mr. Azizi also identified the conflict between the local community and individual investors as the most important issue, which caused project delays and was distanced from local beliefs and traditional activities. He argued that despite various attempts to resolve the local community conflicts, harmony remained fractured and violence has remained endemic. He also stated:

*Local community expectations should be realistic about individual investors. The community imagines the investors dominate their own natural resources. In fact the hot spring water must be supervised by waqf organization and the historical building is under the supervision of ICHHTO. There is only an official agreement between*

*investors and the waqf organization/ICHHTO. This means the individual investors are not officially responsible for all the local community's demands.*

(Interview, September 2014)

Mr Azizi pointed out that the residents' lack of tourism knowledge has been used to support arguments that new development for the Vartoon thermal resource should not be in the hands of individual investors. In this way the level of community participation in tourism development has been low and power redistributed to the local community has been non-existent. According to Gursoy and Rutherford (2004) if the local community feel that new investments are needed in their region, they are likely to evaluate the benefits more positively and minimize the negative impacts. The tourism industry is dependent on local resident involvement, through their role as employees or local entrepreneurs, and on resident goodwill towards tourists (Blackstock 2005; Cole 1997; Laws 1995; Taylor and Davis 1997). In addition to this the community attachment to their place does not necessarily lead to better management strategies without continuous and proactive community involvement (Nunkoo, Ramkissoon, and Gursoy 2012; Pizam 1978). Li (2008) argued that place attachment can differently affect residents' tourism cognition, perception, attitude and tourism experience.

The next interview, which was also carried with Mr. Molaei, the Deputy of Investment Services in the ICHHTO office in Isfahan (February 2014) highlighted two main problems based on the Vartoon hot spring development and its new investment as the follows:

- *The first problem was the stone quarry permission issued in 2006 in the Vartoon district next to the hot spring resource. The permission caused conflict, and a long struggle between the Ministry of Mining and ICHHTO, which also involved the hot spring development with the co-operation of individual investors.*

- *The second problem was the conflict with the neighbouring villages, especially Vartoon and Zefreh, as both villages claimed that the Vartoon hot spring was their own natural resource. However Kuhpayeh city<sup>60</sup> in Isfahan province successfully registered the Vartoon hot spring under the authority of Kuhpayeh district city in 2013.*

(Interview, February, 2014)

Mr. Molaei expressed that ICHHTO supports and encourages individual investors who are interested in rural and tourism development in Isfahan province and especially in the eastern part of the city (see Vartoon hot spring). He also noted that due to the large number of rural attractions in Isfahan province and the lack of financial resources, ICHHTO strongly supports all interested individual investors since the last decade:

*The increasing knowledge, awareness and providing achievable financial support for local residents plays a crucial role that can make possible co-operation between the community and individual investors for project development. The project provides an opportunity for local residents to promote and revive better quality lifestyle in Vartoon village.*

(Interview, February, 2014)

He argued that private investors for tourism development in Isfahan province should endeavour to provide for an increase in the local share of management and administration, employment and training of local labour, including personnel at the managerial and technical levels and the participation of the local capital. Participation in tourist destination planning is more intense if it involves direct, open and respectful dialogue among the different stakeholders, and if the participants learn from each other's interests and attitudes (Healey 1997; Marien and Pizam 1997; Richards and Hall 2003). The scope of participation interest by the community in the Vartoon project was also influenced by the number of key

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<sup>60</sup> Kuhpayeh is a historic city located 70 kilometers east of Isfahan Province and is the capital of the Kuhpayeh district in Isfahan County.



stakeholders in the Vartoon thermal resource who were involved in some way as part of the process to devise the plan (see ICHHTO & Endowment Organization). Consequently the research showed the authority of the local community for the Vartoon hot spring resource played a critical role in the project. Therefore, the author contacted the community of Vartoon village, observed, took pictures of sites and the natural landscapes surrounding them, attempting to investigate the local community's point of view about the project and its new development by individual investors. The representative of Vartoon village who is named the Doyen and was the most respected and prominent person in Vartoon village was interviewed in September 2014 in the research area. The Doyen, Mr. Kadkhoda, was originally from Vartoon village and had lived in the village for more than 70 years and was knowledgeable about the history and the natural resources of Vartoon. For him the hot spring infrastructures historically held back its economic development after the Islamic revolution in 1979 and the village development was ignored, despite its close proximity to Isfahan city. He believed that later the new project also raised enormous challenges for the local community and changed their attitude for further co-operation.

He argued that in the early stages of the project, the preparatory phase, the individual investors with the co-operation of key organizations (see ICHHTO, Endowment Organization) organized a special statement for the local residents of Vartoon village, which contain four conditions as the follows:

- *20 percentage of the annual income of the project must be used for Vartoon village development.*
- *The project involves the majority of skilled labour and workforce from among local community members (local employment).*
- *Amongst the project and its new development, the water use in the rural village of Vartoon from natural resources should be the same as in previous years.*
- *The hot spring development will provide new facilities for local residents in*

*Vartoon village including using hot spring facilities free of charge due to the official document held by the Endowment organization in Isfahan.*

(Interview, September, 2014)

He mentioned the official document must be written and available in related organizations such as ICHTTO or the Endowment Organization. Archival research by the author revealed only the old endowed document stated, “The water use of the hot spring is endowed for local residents in Vartoon village”. The Doyen argued that:

*It seems the individual investors and key organizations do not take responsibility to follow the above rules. There is no effort made to develop the village till now and no efforts made to improve the facilities in Vartoon village and local lifestyles. Furthermore skilled labour or the workforce who are involved in the project is mainly from outside of Vartoon village like the Afghan or Lor<sup>61</sup> people. The individual investors also ignored to provide some kind of facilities for locals to use hot spring facilities without any payment and they feel like the visitors from outside. Additionally the water utilities of Vartoon village from natural resources became limited due to the project and its natural water dominance.*

(Interview, September, 2014)

Despite the Vartoon local community attempts to become involved in tourism, the investors have not yet established an approach. He claimed that residents in Vartoon village would like to demonstrate their commitment to their community or place. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Relph (1976:3) believed that “place is not just the ‘where’ of something; it is the location plus everything that occupies that location seen as integrated and meaningful phenomenon”. Moreover “Considerable investments are required in communication and trust building between the actors in tourism” (Cole 2006:629). The Doyen also confirmed that during the first stage of

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<sup>61</sup> Lorestan province, a province of western Iran in the Zagros Mountains. The people from this territory are well known for their hard work and physical power.

the project the locals found out the positive perspective for their future jobs, new facilities and its development. He mentioned the local residents in Vartoon village would like to make a connection with outside visitors or international ones and they would be proud of Vartoon village when it becomes well known as a tourist attraction. He added that lack of attention to the needs of local community and ignorance of the above rules caused problems to the local residents, so they avoided to co-operate with the project. He explained that:

*Today the local residents cannot access to hot spring facilities as before and it has caused big problematic issues for the community. The project covered 12 hectares of agricultural land of Vartoon village and the locals are unable to reach or afford drinking water for their livestock. So the farmers, ranchers and other agricultural managers in Vartoon village cannot continue their own job activities as in the past.*

(Interview, September, 2014)

The residents are aware of the state and individual stakeholders efforts to develop and promote tourism for the benefit of Vartoon thermal resources, but the match between what happens and what the tourism authorities believe should happen is an important consideration. According to Sheldon and Var (1984) lifelong residents were more sensitive to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism than short-term residents. Moreover as Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2004) mentioned, the relationship between place and its physical features has great influence on individual and collective attachment. Similarly the research study in a protected national heritage town in north of Iran, Masooleh, carried out by Zamani-Farahani et al. (2008:1235) also illustrated that “there is evidence that local people felt that many authorities involved in planning and managing tourism in Masooleh are not giving much consideration to include them in their decision-making. The mistrust among them could be improved by having more open dialogue between the tourism authorities and local population”. However on the contrary, the Doyen mentioned that besides the problems brought by its new development, the project does bring some benefits to local communities, e.g. a greater level of security policies and

implementation of controls in the Vartoon district as well as nearby villages. He expressed that:

*It is clear that the residents feel safer in the Vartoon district since the project started in 2011. Local residents normally seek to advance local safety and security issues that affect the quality of their life. Today the village has seen an opening up of possibilities to provide local safety and security issues in this district.*

(Interview, September, 2014)

Tourism is irrevocably bound up with the concept of security and inevitably interwoven phenomena (Mansfeld and Pizam 2006). “Tourist behaviour and, consequently, destinations, are deeply affected by perceptions of security and the management of safety, security and risk” (Hall, Timothy, and Duval 2012:2). Thus tourism development of the Vartoon thermal resources seeks to improve and ensure the safety and security of the project area and neighbouring community. However the previous interview with the Doyen presented an interesting paradox. The Doyen insisted on the opportunity to empower the village by elevating its status to that of a tourist village and at the same time he argued the community dealt with several problems with the project and hot spring development. As time passed, it became increasingly obvious that while the hot spring development made considerable progress, assistance to residents has been uneven and there are some problems affecting its project implementation. Because of the asymmetrical nature of the interaction between individual investors and the community, the power imbalance between the two parties tend to paddle in opposite directions without co-ordinating their effort. Sofield (2003:11) noted, “Empowerment of communities for tourism development requires a political framework that is either supportive (proactive) or at least neutral, not obstructionist”. According to Lankford and Haward (1994) those residents who are employed in the tourism sector are more interested in the development of tourism. Local community often makes decisions in ignorance and “often from positions of relative weakness when confronted with multi-national and/or government forces arraigned against them” (Sofield

2003:113). The following interview was also carried out with a member of the city council in Vartoon village who did not want to be named in this research. He has been living in the village for more than 40 years and I met him in Vartoon village in September 2014. He confirmed that the project and its new development almost lost the community trust to develop their local products for visitors, which could provide social and economic benefits. The member of city council in Vartoon village noted:

*The local community attempted to find applicable ways to provide enhanced co-ordination with individual investors for more effective results from the hot spring and its natural resource development for both. They would like to co-operate under certain rules like self-insurance and a monthly income but individual investors normally disregarded those issues.*

(Interview, September, 2014)

He also added the new strategy of individual investors attempting to dedicate the private access road to the project facilities, ignored the needs of the village for visitor access and thus there were no benefits for the local community. He believed that the interaction between tourists and locals will be more effective for the economic development of Vartoon village and the investors have to consider this interaction. He mentioned the individual investors take all the advantages of the Vartoon hot spring, the locals' land and their natural resources with legal backing through legislative systems.

Beeton (2006:11) argued the various descriptions present the most essential elements of community as:

- “Empowerment;
- The existence of mutual inter-dependence among members;
- Having a sense of belonging, connectedness, spirit, faith and trust;
- Possessing common expectations, shared values and goals”.

Informal conversations in Vartoon village allowed local residents to talk freely about their thoughts on the project. The main discussion took place in a public meeting with local residents in a grocery shop, next to the main mosque in the village in October 2014. The grocery shop was an important place for local gathering of all ages and gave them a chance to share ideas about their daily life before or after prayer time. In addition they made sure that the conversations with the author were being carried out for academic research and so allowed them to speak freely without any tension. They mainly believed that as time passed, especially the responsible organizations (see Endowment Organization) and individual investors ignored their responsibilities and the locals' requirements. They also added the investors are more reluctant to work with local community for further co-operation. "Young residents expected to find job opportunities but the investors do not seem interested in local community members and do not provide them with work liability insurance," a village youngster said one of the men assumed that "I think that individual investors ignore having face to face interaction with the local community" a man said. The owner of a supermarket from Vartoon village believed that the access to water resources and the hot spring remains a serious challenge and concern between local community and individual investors. One local said, "I was shocked to find out today the local community cannot use the hot spring facilities free of charge due to water endowed for the local community and its activities." As a result, local communities' attitudes and perceptions towards Vartoon investment are one of the important critical indicators for sustainable tourism development. Some effort is needed to reduce the negative impacts of new project investment and improve local empowerment through the creation of tourism in a community and sustainable tourism development. According to Sofield (2003:114) the concept of empowerment for sustainable tourism development in the context of political and socio-economic environments have been synthesized and the following first three items that:

- “Without the element of empowerment tourism development at the level of community will have difficulty achieving sustainability.
- The exercise of traditional or legitimate empowerment by traditionally oriented communities will of itself be an ineffectual mechanism for attempting sustainable tourism development.
- Such traditional empowerment must be transformed into legal empowerment if sustainable tourism development is to be achieved”.

Water-dominated interaction, rural identity, lack of village development and the absence of co-operation played an important role in the conflict between the community and the project. These factors should co-ordinate, identify and maximize opportunities for empowerment at the local level. Consequently the above mentioned was also formed to reveal the external and internal factors influencing the boost or stagnation of the project from late 2011 onwards. The external and internal factors affecting the growth and decline of the Vartoon hot spring project since 2011 has been shown as the following (see Tables 7.3 and 7.4).

External and internal factors affecting the growth of Vartoon hot spring project	
<b>External Factors</b>	The potential of new hot spring resources since project inaugurated Establishing new government policies toward rural development
<b>Internal Factors</b>	The availability of two hot spring resources The location of Vartoon hot spring, nearby Isfahan city Water-related beliefs and socio-cultural context of Vartoon village, traditional activities Water drinking transportation from the neighbours' village, Zefreh

**Table 7.3 External and internal factors affecting the growth of the Vartoon hot spring**  
Source: Author, 2014

External and internal factors affecting the decline of Vartoon hot spring project	
<b>External Factors</b>	Lack of proper cooperation between related organization (Mining industry, ICHHTO, Endowment Organization) Lack of local trust with the project and individual investors
<b>Internal Factors</b>	Lack of infrastructure like road availability and etc. Lack of drinking water availability for the project area Desert climate and arid climate: Lack of proper rural infrastructure and development particularly after Islamic revolution of Iran, 1979

**Table 7.4 External and internal factors affecting the decline of Vartoon hot spring**  
Source: Author, 2014

## 7.7 Summary

This chapter focused on the Vartoon hot spring and its developing process and analyzed its current condition, the contribution of hot springs to traditional bathing activities as well as to the health and spa tourism sectors in Isfahan province. The chapter introduced the advances of the Vartoon hot spring project associated with specific historical allusions for domestic and international tourism development in contemporary Isfahan. Previously, mostly local people from nearby Vartoon hot spring, especially Vartoon village, could enjoy the amenities formed by the hot spring in an attractive rural setting. However, the Vartoon hot spring project began to develop tourist facilities to attract different types of visitors and especially promoted health tourism sector.

Moreover, this chapter also contributed to the understanding of the role of different organizations (see mainly ICHHTO and *Waqf* organization), and attempted to provide the local community's perspective on the project. It discussed the role of each organization, their authorities and influences provided to the Vartoon hot spring project. The chapter mainly described potential conflicts between different stakeholders and particularly between the local community and the individual investors. Therefore it underlined that the development of good relationships between the local community and individual investors is considered a pivotal factor for ensuring better and long lasting results of the project. To lead to positive economic/social/environmental effects, it is important to involve the local community in the project management and to encourage them in their entirety to manage and market their own cultural values.





## ***Conclusion***



This thesis studied places of health tourism in Iran, which are mainly associated with the idea of bathing and traditional bathing activities within the context of historical hammams and hot springs in contemporary Isfahan. It attempted to make various theoretical, practical and methodological contributions to the research areas.

Consequently five questions were identified for the thesis. Each of them has been considered in this section to provide the answers to the questions separately and shape the principle conclusions of the thesis.

### ***1: How are hammams being transformed in Isfahan in the context of contemporary changes?***

To answer the first question, I provided a wide range of material in support of the idea of place, health, religion and their connection (see Chapter 1) as *hammams* in Islamic societies were built with the purpose of the cleaning, health, religious and socio-cultural activities. Accordingly, health in this research study was mainly a concept related to bathing, cleaning and washing activities and attempted to raise awareness of the importance of water in culture and religion, especially in Islamic cities (see Chapter 2). Chapter 2 examined worldwide traditional public baths including *hammam*, *sento* or *sauna* in different geographical locations and attempted to present the traditional public baths being much more than just cleanliness or washing activities in the past.

The variety of perspectives that arose from the above information presented the significant role of the traditional public baths influencing culture and shaping beliefs, gender differences, ritual performances, leisure as well as social and cultural performances. On top of that, *hammam*, the main key concept and focus of this thesis, largely developed the essence of social performance and cultural activities especially for women in past Islamic cities and shaped the vital role of religion within the context of Islamic buildings associated with art, special design and architecture (see Chapter 3).

Consequently the first question of this study arose due to the significant role of *hammams* in Isfahan, one of the important Islamic cities that has been playing a critical role in the history of Iran (see Chapter 4). As Chapter 4 revealed, the large numbers of *hammams* built in Isfahan are mainly associated with the influence of different historical periods. Especially in the Safavid dynasty the leadership wished to increase the number of *hammams* for religious practices or for the public to be proud of. Nevertheless, in recent decades, the influence of different historical periods such as the Pahlavid dynasty or Islamic revolution as well as modernization, changes of urban structure, society, economy and the dynamics of cultural change have been the principal reasons behind the closure, demolition or reduction in use of *hammams* in Isfahan (see Chapters 3 and 5). While visiting *hammams* in Isfahan from 2010 to 2015, I noticed that not only the *hammams* themselves, but also their surroundings were experiencing different conditions and had various purposes. Functioning *hammams* in Isfahan, as either simple buildings or as heritage buildings, maintained a structure that overwhelmingly catered for low income users, which often includes marginalized groups such as Afghans or other immigrants and occasional budget travellers. In other words, the functioning *hammams* are largely struggling to be economically viable. They are in a poorly maintained condition and only have a few daily users. So the majority of them have closed and are gradually falling into ruins, pressed by urbanization, which looks for available land in central places.

However in this thesis, I mainly focused on 18 *hammams* with historical value, which are listed by ICHHTO, and attempted to highlight their current condition and transformation in contemporary Isfahan. Therefore the survey was mostly carried out upon the condition of these 18 *hammams*: 4 presently in ruins, 1 continuing its original function, 5 being repaired at the moment, 5 transformed for new uses, or being produced, promoted by tourism, being museum, art gallery and others, and 3 falling into more than one category. While visiting the historical *hammams* between the years 2012 and 2015, I observed the lack of a coherent revitalization programme and urban policy towards the preservation of the several historical

*hammams* which contributed to the disregard of aesthetics, social, cultural and economic value of heritage. On top of that the transformation of the three historical *hammams* for tourism purposes including a museum (see Ali Gholi Agha *hammam*), a temporary exhibition, a conference centre and an art gallery especially working for a special celebration and holiday like Nowruz (see the Dardasht *hammam*) and a creativity house-museum (see the Rehnan *hammam*), becoming a symbolic reflection of the historical *hammams* in contemporary Isfahan which are directly associated with tourism purposes. Thus the transformation of the above *hammams* for tourism purposes showed the relationship between tourism and heritage and demonstrated static representations of traditional scenes of the public bath, while also displaying many artifacts. Therefore tourism can provide the main dynamic element in the historical *hammams* in the contemporary city. Additionally, two other historical *hammams* (see Jarchy Bashi and Jolfa *hammam*<sup>62</sup>) also were used as restaurants, tea houses and coffee shops and they are directly connected to the desire or propensity of tourists to visit *hammams* and restaurants simultaneously. The Jarchy Bashi *hammam* is located near the big *bazaar* and the main square. It provides a traditional restaurant in the most visited attraction of the central city. Moreover the Jolfa *hammam* is located in the Armenian quarter, popularly known as one of the most modern, touristic and lively parts in the south of Isfahan. Recently the Jolfa *hammam* hosted a well-known traditional restaurant, tea house and coffee shop in different parts of the building with traditional live music in the *Sarbineh*. Despite being a better solution than leaving buildings to decay, the above two *hammams* entail a certain danger of ill-informed renovation or functioning for using as restaurant, tea house and coffee shop. According to Majdedin Rahimi (August 2011), an archaeologist concerned with the rehabilitation of Iranian historic cities, more than 95 per cent of traditional *hammams* in Iran were either completely destroyed or are used as traditional tea houses or coffee shops (Entekhab News 2011). The Vazir *hammam* is another example of a contemporary historical

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<sup>62</sup> Jolfa *hammam* with a historical value in Safavid dynasty, just as Korsi and Zafarani *hammams* with a historical value in Qajar dynasty, are not included in the list of ICHHTO. This list is not comprehensive list (List provided by the Isfahan office of the Iran's Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts and Tourism Organization, ICHHTO, Accessed October, 2014).

*hammam*, which is used as the 'Institute of Cultural and Intellectual Activities for Children and Adults' in the old *bazaar* and historic part of the city. It seems the renovation process of the Vazir *hammam* for new use does not allow structures to retain their historic integrity while meeting the needs of children and young adults. Obviously in the pursuit of sustainable development, historical *hammams* like the Vazir *hammam* have much to gain from conservation, adapting and re-using the building. The five historical *hammams* have been under conservation over a long period of time and yet their future uses are still not specified (see Shah, Shahzadeha, Shah Ali, Sheikh Bahaei, Ghazi *hammam*). These *hammams* are usually supervised by a variety of organizations or individuals with different authorities and financial support. So their conservation process and current condition normally shifts from one organization/individual/authority to another and changes over time. Likewise, some key stakeholders may favour, co-operate or reject the conservation process of the historical *hammams* depending on the current circumstances, their location or even local interest. For instance the three historical *hammams* such as Khosrow Agha, Dehnou and Haj Kazem are presently no more than a ruin in the touristic part of the city and the Roghani *hammam*, has been left closed for a long time without any protection or conservation plan. A large number of heritage buildings in Isfahan as well as some of the historical *hammams* in Isfahan (see Khosrow Agha, Haj Kazem, Korsi and Zafarani *hammam*) are in disrepair or have completely vanished after the prompt demolition by municipality whether in the past or more recently. Additionally, some types of *hammams* (see Roghani and Dehnou *hammam*) are in decay as the government, municipality, individuals or other key stakeholders cut the budget for the maintenance of heritage buildings from deteriorating. The site of the Darb Imam *hammam* is also an example, which is currently used as a public library and there is no sign of the *hammam* structure. Sheikh Al Islam *hammam* is in a poor condition but recently it provides accommodation for homeless people. Actually the role of the Sheikh Al Islam *hammam* as a carrier of historical value from the past is ignored and neighbouring people who live around the *hammam* are also displeased with the current condition of this historical *hammam*. Moreover, the Janat *hammam*, that is very close to the old main square in Isfahan, also has multiple owners and

they have led to conflict concerning the maintenance and up-keep of the *hammam*. So recently the different parts of Janat *hammam* have had a wide variety of functions, such as a hairdresser, taxi services, warehouse and others, with their own individual landlords. Haj Banan and Haj Kazem *hammam* were also two clear examples of Isfahan historical *hammams* which kept their original functionality until recent years. But while the former is located near the main square in Isfahan and still suffering from the fragile economic situation, the latter has been demolished by the Isfahan municipality in January 2016. According to Sarmento and Kazemi (2014) the transition from traditional spaces, which provided a wide range of services, from washing, massage, waxing, and hairstyling to more modern usage has created a backward step for the *hammams* as an anachronistic institution, which is hard to change. Adaptation for new uses or new functional requirements and financial support can pose difficulties. On the one hand structural changes must be made in many historical *hammams*, such as changing old water systems, heating systems, renewing facilities or even adapting some physical structures, always preserving the historical and architectural value of the buildings. But on the other hand, it is the whole image and the idea of *hammam* that must be changed.

In brief, the transformation of *hammams* and different functionalities in the contemporary city are not only modifying cities structurally but also socially and culturally. Today it is important to focus on the traditional, religious, social and cultural aspects of *hammams* both from the producers and the consumers and contribute to the leisure, economic and tourism sectors in the contemporary city. Moreover the physical structure and architecture of the historical *hammams* support a variety of elements of tourism development due to the adaptation of the *hammams* for future use.



## *2: Which types of hammams are being produced by tourism or contribute to the health and traditional activities in the contemporary city of Isfahan?*

As already mentioned, few historical *hammams* in the contemporary city of Isfahan are contributing to tourism either with uses such as museums, art galleries or others, or even with uses such as restaurants, coffee shops or tea houses. In my visits I noted some divergence between the current condition of some historical *hammams*, their stakeholders, the conservation process, the functionalities and their connection for tourism purposes (see Chapter 5). Therefore to answer the second question, I focused on three historical *hammams* with different condition and functionalities and mainly attempted to understand the relationship between the *hammam* and tourism purposes in the contemporary city. Khosrow Agha, Dardasht and Ghazi *hammams* were the cases studies in this thesis and Chapter 6 is based on fieldwork which largely analyzed and discussed these 3 *hammams*.

Khosrow Agha is one of the important national monuments in the history of Isfahan. It is a recent ruin in a tourist area of the city. The history of Khosrow Agha *hammam* as a ruin showed not only the influence of different historical periods on the *hammam* destruction but it also enables us to reassess our ideas about the recent *hammam's* management. The ruined *hammam* may not be much in itself, but as part of a network of sites of memory, it may acquire a meaning beyond its physical entity. Time is the intrinsic cause of a ruin, as a ruin (Hetzler 1988). Following Edensor's (2005) ideas, ruins can be spaces in which involuntary memories may be stimulated. The focus on ruins should not be on the inert remains but on their reconfiguration (Stoler 2008). Khosrow Agha can serve as a case study to both inform and illustrate how the *hammam* authenticity can provide the future plan within the ruin management. The study also described the possible ways of management and creative planning for the *hammam* under its current ruined condition. According to Edensor (2005) in contrast to the conscious use, transmission and representation of the past such as in a museum, ruins can be ambivalent in their meaning and can invoke memories. The reconstruction of some

ruined monuments or heritage sites implies significant costs, but rather than demolishing ruins to make way for other uses, much can be achieved through creative intervention, highlighting as well the intangible nature of heritage. Ruins in different countries may be classified as attracting many, few or no visitors. According to Ashurst (2007) on the one hand, ruined sites visited by very few or no visitors at all are usually neglected, and are generally found in particularly remote and often inhospitable locations. However, on the other hand, he added at the other extreme, well-visited sites include iconic, internationally renowned and well-publicized 'must see' ruin monuments such as the Coliseum in Rome, Italy or the ruins of Roman Baths in central Athens, Greece. These places which are located on principal tourist routes, can entail, in some cases, substantial entrance fees, and are often supported by a wealth of visitor facilities, interpretation panels with some information, being safe and comfortable to visit.

Khosrow Agha is located in a tourist area of Isfahan city, and can also provide a wide variety of uses based on historical background such as a *waqf* museum (the *hammam* used to be *waqf* for publishing); a centre for *hammam* architecture education (based on remaining debris); or just to see. On-site explanations, the assemblage and display of iconographic material in various dynamic and interactive forms; the establishing of perceptible connections to other parts of the *hammam*, and physically constructing memory scraps is a possibility that can be part of a larger strategy for reconsolidating the *hammam* in the city of Isfahan. Well-visited ruin sites can offer substantial scope in terms of their use and thus also have income generating potential rather than them being completely demolished. Boym (2010, p. 58) defined "ruin literally means to collapse, but ruins are more about remainders and reminders". Therefore, Khosrow Agha allows us to think of how a specialization of memory and a ruined monument could be developed in the urban city of modern day Isfahan.

The second case study was the Dardasht *hammam*, one of the few historical *hammams* in Isfahan city that has recently been conserved and attempts to find adaptive re-use of its heritage in contemporary Isfahan. Today the adaptive re-use

of the heritage buildings in the urban environment is one of the major critical challenges of the responsible authorities, key stakeholders or even private sectors in Isfahan. This in fact has greatly affected management of renovated heritage buildings during the last decades in Isfahan city and, for example, different stakeholders have a major impact and different opinions on Dardasht *hammam* functionality. Despite the conscious efforts for the *hammam* renovation compared with other historical *hammams* in the city, Dardasht *hammam* still does not find its proper placement, neither for tourism nor other purposes. According to Ashworth (2013) history, that is the occurrences of the past, is widely used to fulfill a number of major modern functions, one of which is shaping socio-cultural place-identities to support the building structure and a number of contemporary needs. Dardasht *hammam* is one of the most recently renewed *hammams* in Isfahan city that is located in the *bazaar*, and is in close proximity to the three historical hotel complexes and other types of attractions such as traditional sweet shops, minarets and so on. Dardasht *hammam* can potentially work at full capacity with the tourism sector in Isfahan since it has a central location near various historical hotels. In this way, the *hammam* has come to highlight and epitomize attraction that visitors might like to visit in the old part of Isfahan. Within the context of tourism and diverse local visitors coming for different reasons to the old area, the *hammam* constitutes a particularly fascinating case to show how global realities interact with local traditions. According to Assi (2000:67), authenticity in the society of a historic city “will be reflected in the continuation of traditions and traditional types of function and use. This will necessarily involve gradual changes in the built environment that may be seen as an expression of an authentic cultural and social spirit”. In addition when primary traditional industries are in decline, tourism often becomes another tool to help create jobs and to raise the standard of living (see Fleischer and Felsenstein 2000; Hill 1993; MacDonald and Jolliffe 2003). With the focus on the Dardasht *hammam* the lack of comprehensive co-operation between the Isfahan municipality and ICHHTO towards the *hammam* contributes to the variety of functionality for the renewed *hammam*. These changes lead to conflict, contradiction and as a result, to the need for different choice and functionality

among key stakeholders. Thereupon, after several suggested functionalities, today the *hammam* provides a place for temporary activities: art exhibitions, events particularly in the Nowruz holiday, conferences, etc. Thus the Dardasht *hammam*, with appropriate management, can rely on future successful establishment as a tourist attraction with sustainable development. It can provide an opportunity to be used as a symbolic arena for traditional activities and tourist attraction. The creative and relevant sustainable activities such as women's employment or visiting different parts of the *hammam* such as the roof, heating system and lighting system could shed light on knowing the *hammam* as a new attraction which differs in activities and structural information if compared to others (see e.g. Ali Gholi Agha *hammam*). According to Girard and Torrieri (2009) creative and wise integrated conservation of cultural heritage is a key element of strategic planning, which should combine multiple goals and objectives: public, private, old and new architecture, tangible and intangible heritage and public and private interests. They also argued that it should be wise to introduce innovations in functions, uses, technologies, etc. and should be creative, because it is founded on the soul of the site itself, on its collective memory and its traditional and specificity, on its cultural heritage, reinterpreted in a new perspective. Thus the renewed Dardasht *hammam* potentially could be labelled as one of the main tourist attractions in Isfahan with creative activities and providing structural and cultural information.

The third case study was Ghazi *hammam*, located in the historical part of Isfahan city with its own value in the Shahshahan quarter. The *hammam* has been under conservation since 2009 and will re-open which its original function with modern services and facilities in the future.

Today the Ghazi *hammam* is pursuing a restoration to its original function. Accordingly, whenever conservation work is completed, the *hammam* will allow visitors to enjoy the traditional cleanliness and customs of an Iranian *hammam* with adaptation of modern services and facilities. According to Masini (2002) traditional cultures are finding new ways of both interchange and spurring phenomena of revival in the present time. In some countries (see *hammams* in Turkey, Sentō:

Japanese communal bathhouse in Japan, *Sauna* in Finland) traditional activities are world famous and the concept has been exported everywhere in the contemporary world (Smith and Puczko 2009). In addition Smith and Puczko (2009:130) discuss that “The provision of a quality, customized experience is therefore an essential selling point for any destination regardless of location”. Ghazi *hammam* can serve as a case study to illustrate how the *hammam* with Islamic and Iranian architectural style can customize or modify products according to recent visitors’ requirements either locals or domestic and foreign tourists. It also supports traditional activities, since it will show the new services and product modification in the renewed *hammam*. The traditional atmosphere can also increase the visibility and especially credibility of Iranian *hammams* with their own structures, architecture and activities within the tourism industry in Isfahan. According to Kheirabadi (2000) the traditional Iranian city, like any other city of the Islamic world, is a response to the religious, economic and cultural needs of its Muslim inhabitants. He also added because of the severe arid conditions of the Iranian plateau, it is also, to a great degree, a rational response to climatic characteristics. Of course in Iran the special architectural structure of many *hammams* support different kinds of requirements, activities and gathering places with their own authenticity and art decoration from the past, particularly in the Safavid period. So the *hammam* was not just a specific type of building with common main structural elements and art decoration especially since the Pahlavid period. Therefore the Ghazi *hammam* renovation, by keeping the original building’s skeleton, will form new services and traditional activities in a modern adaptation in the traditional *hammam* space. The Ghazi *hammam* can keep the authentic touches of the Iranian *hammam* activities in the past Safavid period and still provide a balance between commercialization and origins of the heritage authenticity in contemporary city: “the ‘search for authenticity’ is too simple a foundation for explaining contemporary tourism” (Urry 1991:51). According to Wang (1999:350) “... still authenticity is relevant to some kinds of tourism such as ethnic, history or cultural tourism, which involve the representation of the other or of the past”. Crick (1989) even argued that in a sense all cultures are ‘staged’ and are therefore inauthentic to an extent. Cultures are

continually being re-made and re-invented and their elements recognized, whether or not they are viewed or may be viewed by tourists (see various examples in Rojek and Urry 1997). Accordingly the Ghazi *hammam* will preserve the *hammam* as an authentic place with historic building activities in a traditional quarter to make visitors experience the original *hammam* from a previous time and gain practical involvement, practices and traditional experience.

### *3: Which kinds of key stakeholders are involved in the current condition of historical hammams in Isfahan city?*

In Isfahan the key stakeholders of historical *hammams* are four organizations and various other people. Firstly ICHHTO is the main official organization for conservation, protection and registration of national heritage in Iran as well as in Isfahan city. Despite ICHHTO being responsible for all matters of heritage and its related issues in Isfahan, it does not give its full support within the context of historical *hammams* in the contemporary city. For various reasons the ICHHTO in Isfahan does not support all heritage responsibilities; so ICHHTO' duties are increasingly shared with other key stakeholders such as the municipality, the private sector, and other individuals. Accordingly the functionalities and current condition of historical *hammams* in Isfahan as it was mainly analyzed in Chapter 6, can be attributed to other stakeholders.

Firstly the organizations had different strategies, attitudes and policies towards types of conservations and superintendence of historical *hammams* among numerous other roles, technical and financial support. Secondly, different types of people also had a great and varied influence on the current condition of historical *hammams* in terms of modernization, the rights of ownership, tourist attraction, cultural heritage transformation as well as political, socio-cultural and economic changes. Legitimately, if damage to or inappropriate utilization of heritage sites occurs in practice, the ICHHTO in Isfahan is the organization to make an objective and fair judgment and take effective measures to stop such behaviour. Today a few historical *hammams* are directly supervised under the authority of ICHHTO and

mostly these *hammams* have been under conservation for a long time (see Shah, Sheikh Bahaei and partly Shahzadeha). This leads to the presumption that there is no serious and complete conservation carried out by the ICHHTO among the historical *hammams* in Isfahan and yet the *hammams* under the supervision of ICHHTO does not have any special functionality. As the case may be, the ICHHTO as a state organization has bureaucratic, rigid procedures and financial constraints, which preclude flexibility and hamper the responsiveness, required for supporting heritage sites and related issues.

Secondly, Isfahan municipality has also been playing a significant role in heritage, its conservation as well as the current condition of historical *hammams*. Today Isfahan municipality constructs a sophisticated discourse on heritage especially when there has been no serious control and support carried out by ICHHTO through heritage conservation, including historical *hammams*. Generally municipalities in Iran are independent organizations responsive to citizens, but are seen as a branch of the central government in charge of delivering certain services. Isfahan municipality works to create co-operation with ICHHTO, particularly since Islamic revolution, but mostly the municipality follows different goals and ambitions within the context of heritage in comparison to ICHHTO. The result of this research as I discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, expressed the municipality may favour or reject the conservation of the heritage site depending on the circumstances. Thus, power and responsibilities for heritage sites between the municipality and ICHHTO is normally quite tense. In some historical *hammams*, the municipality does not aim to preserve or development heritage, but rather is foremost concerned with economic profit or city development. Besides, the obvious assistance of the municipality upon proper conservation in the three historical *hammams* in Isfahan (see Ali Gholi Agha, Dardasht and Rehnan) it is mainly associated with tourism. Over time the municipality has also ordered the demolition of several historical *hammams* in the city (see Khosrow Agha and Haj Kazem). It was observed that the intervention of the Isfahan municipality is unpredictable among the historical *hammams* over time or even more recently, based on heritage conservation, urban development or even

heritage demolition. What is more, public simplification can be obtained as a result of heritage demolition such as *hammams* for public access or passage by the municipality and may be offered to meet planning requirements. However, in some cases the municipality that hastened to demolish the historical buildings is also eager to restore them- for example Korsi *hammam* in Isfahan old square, *maidan* Imam Ali.

Thirdly, the Urban Development and Revitalization Company (UDRC) under the supervision of the Ministry of Roads and Urban Development does not have a very long history in comparison to ICHHTO and the municipality. The UDRC in Isfahan is generally well aware of heritage sites, attempts to provide suitable financial resources for conservation, and believes the private sectors should be responsible for helping government in heritage conservation and other responsibilities. In relation to corporate motivation for heritage support, the UDRC is providing appropriate assistance to the ICHHTO and the municipality and is aware of their rights and accordingly fulfils their responsibilities. Consequently, the UDRC is seriously involved in the context of heritage revival as well as a few historical *hammams* (see Ghazi and Shah Ali) with individual building owners. Thus, state partnerships with the UDRC must have the ability to achieve both business objectives and conservation goals in order to attract the private investor. Supposedly the UDRC has increased its awareness of how principles can be applied to heritage conservation, and this could also result in the development of more widespread policy partnership between the private sector and heritage, through which the UDRC pledge and demonstrate responsibility for heritage sites as well as historical *hammams* through business activities.

Finally, Chapter 3 introduced the terms of *waqf* and *waif* in Islamic cities. Consequently, today, the variety of *waqf* practices by *waif* and endowment buildings must be supervised by the 'Organization for *Waqf* and Charitable Affairs' in Iran as well as Isfahan (see Chapter 5). Heritage and *hammams* in Isfahan were strongly associated with *waqf* practices in the past. Yet the 'Organization for *Waqf* and Charitable Affairs' is linked to most of the historical *hammams* and consequently any



decision-making relating to them such as current performance, conservation, demolition, planning and others should be carried out under the supervision of the *waqf* organization in Isfahan. Hence, the *waqf* organization should get involved with the above organizations to make plans for historical *hammams* and their current functionalities.

Moreover, different types of people play an important role in the current condition of historical *hammams*, in terms of their conservation, renovation, functionalities, demolition or others. I classified people as the local community, individual owners/investors or multi-tenants and visitors/tourists. This typology plays a special role and shapes different perceptions of the value of the historical *hammams*, their current condition or functionality.

Firstly the local community is strongly engaged within the context of a few historical *hammams* in Isfahan such as Khosrow Agha and Ghazi. Obviously the local community provided either positive or negative reinforcement for the current condition of the above two *hammams*. The process led to negligence, decay, and demolition for the Khosrow Agha *hammam* but inversely caused renovation of the Ghazi *hammam* and altered the *hammam's* status and neighbouring area. In other words the local community put effort into the demolition of the Ghazi *hammam* to show their disagreement with the old functionality and poor condition of the *hammam* and this process contributed to the renovation of *hammam* in the contemporary city by different stakeholders like state organizations or the private sectors. Alexander (2012) argued that historical sites usually promote local business, build up new experiences as well as the maintenance of spiritual and cultural values for the local community.

Secondly legal owners such as individual owners, investors or multi-tenants also accomplish different desires, goals, plans and functionalities amongst various historical *hammams* in Isfahan (see Janat, Sheikh Al Islam and Jarchy Bashi). Officially the legal owners of the historical *hammams* are obliged to act upon the rights and duties of ICHHTO, but they usually follow their own desires, goals and

benefits. As ICHHTO does not always provide proper supervision and oversee the financial transactions relating to the authorized tasks and activities as well as performing expert tasks related to conservation, funds and other, so the legal owners usually represent their personal interest for adaptive re-use of the *hammams* such as restaurants (see Jarchy Bashi *hammam*), residences (see Sheikh Al Islam *hammam*) or various uses including a hairdresser, taxi office and other functionalities with multiple landlords (see Janat *hammam*).

Thirdly, historical *hammams* and their structures as well as their cultural and traditional activities can be recognized as a principle factor for generating tourism. This has spurred the growth of a large tourism industry in some Islamic cities (e.g. Istanbul). So stakeholders in this research area also attribute to visitors/tourists the importance of demand and to *hammams* the importance of suppliers. However, the character and behaviour of the few historical *hammams* in contemporary Isfahan (see Ali Gholi Agha, Dardasht and Rehnan *hammam*) are mainly associated with tourism purposes today. Today Ali Gholi *hammam* is well maintained and provides one of the most important tourist attractions in Isfahan. It has been listed in Lonely Planet Iran over the last decade and most tourist groups in Isfahan visit it. By setting up different types of visitors/tourists and their connection to the historical *hammams* in Isfahan, the key stakeholders need to understand the behaviour of their visitors/tourists and respond effectively.

#### ***4: How visiting hot springs is contributing to traditional bathing activities as well as to the health and spa sectors in Iran?***

This research, as discussed in Chapter 4 and partly in Chapter 7, reflected on how visiting hot springs is contributing to the development of traditional bathing activities and transforming modern facilities in contemporary Iran. Visiting hot springs and its related culture has a long history in Iran, and consequently, it has greatly influenced the development of hot springs, infrastructure investment and special construction. Usually the build up of the area around hot springs started to spread significantly across the Iranian cities particularly from the Safavid dynasty

onwards. Thus, they are well visited within the tourism market especially and also by domestic visitors. Indeed, hot springs in Iran are used extensively for health, treatment, cultural and leisure purposes and attract both regular vacationers and those with physical complaints.

Traditionally, hot springs provided separate bathing areas and buildings for men and women and even offered them mineral pools at different temperatures. Habitually some hot spring attractions in Iran kept their traditional activities connected to historical building structures; some have up-dated the facilities, including spa treatments, in order to promote health and wellness tourism. Today some hot springs such as Mahalat and Sarein have increased in popularity, and use their natural environment, local culture, traditional buildings and their rich history as well as the medical benefits to attract health and wellness tourists to the many health and wellness spas that have been established. In some cases new technologies are also advancing health products in the wellness industry within the hydrotherapy tradition. They might provide different pools with fountains, waterslides, sauna, steam rooms, *hammam*, massage, restaurants, etc. There are more than 350 hot and mineral springs in Iran with the capacity for commercialization (Ayoubian 2015). Apart from this there seems to be very little research and information available about the historical use of hot springs in Iran. So there are also cultural factors that appeal greatly to tourists in terms of using hot springs associated with traditional architecture, art, religion and history. Rising customer expectations concerning health and wellness is the foundation on which the modern health, wellness and spa industry is building an ever-increasing supply of facilities for medical, health or general visits, to the extent that this form of tourism is currently undergoing growth and prosperity.

In many hot spring destinations in Iran, the infrastructures, facilities, types of activities and use of natural water resources are supported by a variety of different stakeholders due to the government standards. The key stakeholders, such as the local community, individuals, state organizations and their connections play a particularly important role for the new hot spring development in Iran.

*5: What is the current condition of the thermal hot spring development in Isfahan province and which kind of facilities, health and spa tourism activities do they provide?*

When I initially conducted the research for a study of hot springs in Isfahan, I found out there are two hot spring resources in Isfahan province, Vartoon and Khur. They are located in the eastern part of the city, in desert landscapes and with arid climates. However, Khur hot spring is still non-commercialized and is largely unknown. But Vartoon has a new development project close to the city (65 km), promoting health tourism practices and attempting to provide different kinds of activities. Thus, fieldwork was conducted in the Vartoon district from 2012 to 2015. Vartoon presented different types of facilities in terms of traditional thermal activities, spa, physical services and the potential for a tourist market. Chapter 7 highlighted that with the existence of historical features and considerable investment for thermal activities and new facilities, the Vartoon area has been entering the short-term holiday market in the field of health and nature based resources especially for people from Isfahan city or domestic tourism. However, it can be claimed that new investments are less focused on the traditional concept, local growth, community empowerment, and long-term use of hot spring resources for the host community and more to the idea of tourism market, economic structure and modern facilities. The survey underlined the complexity of the relationship between the community and the project investment by individual investors. This requires not only research on the different needs of the local community, but also both the co-operation of key state and individual stakeholders, local infrastructure, management and communication. It has also been difficult to manage new facilities, which are starting to develop new products and attract different market segments without community participation. Sustainable tourism development should be conceived in terms of collaboration, which includes all the elements together with the local community and key stakeholders and reaching common goals and ideas. Beeton (2006:16) noted, "As tourism relies on visiting places and people, it cannot exist outside a community". The growth and development of tourism has been

associated with several idealistic notions concerning its contribution to society, but subsequent experience has shown tourism, like many other human activities, can have both positive and negative impacts (Murphy 2013:30). According to Beeton (2006:18) "The growing interest in many tourists for experiential encounters can result in a loss of privacy or the commodification of the community". Thus Chapter 7 also emphasized the local community in Vartoon village could enrich the visitor experience and provide support for further development. When a community is involved in the direction of tourism development it is more likely to become an active assistant and take a particular role in the development of the area. According to Singh et al. (2003:10) "it is clear that tourism and its role in destination communities is a multi-dimensional phenomenon that encompasses economic, social, cultural, ecological and political forces". In Vartoon there are benefits for a tourism business in becoming a respected and valued partner of the local community and economy. According to Jamal and Dredge (2014:195) "Evaluating the role of tourism in the community and its potential contribution towards community development, and the existing level of support for tourism is an essential part of the planning process". Evaluating the community's attitudes, its desires and aspirations with respect to tourism development is a key action (Choi and Sirakaya 2005, 2006). The strategic planning of the Vartoon area and local communities' expectations is a complex task due to the interdependence of multiple stakeholders and fragmented control over the destination's resources. Yet individual investors had been playing an essential role in the project investment. Officially Vartoon hot spring and its historical features must be controlled by ICHHTO and by the Endowment Organization. Therefore the individual investors are not responsible for all the local communities' expectations and desires. As Sofield (2003:125) noted, "Tourism practitioners, whether they are governmental, semi-governmental or private sector developers, tend to highlight the positive benefits of the industry". Therefore in the Vartoon area there is also a continuous tension between the local community and other stakeholders when only pursuing 'planned' development in support of individual investors and ignores the community expectations. Conversely, the project also welcomed people who came

seeking work and indicated their skill levels in nearby villages (see Vartoon and Zefreh Villages). After a while the local members interrupted their secured co-operation and their involvement in the project. However, future studies need to determine how much local residents benefit or suffer from tourism in the Vartoon hot spring development and improvement of facilities.

To sum up, this thesis highlighted the heritage transformation process in response to its emerging needs, particularly historical *hammams* conservation in Isfahan city. By pointing out the most relevant challenges of this process, it contributed to the up-coming solutions, shaped new vision and illustrated that historical *hammams* should be better recognized and incorporated in the contemporary city with a contribution to the tourism industry in general and health tourism in particular. Moreover, hot springs and their built facilities played an essential role in the daily lives of Iranian people for bathing, cultural and leisure activities. Therefore the thesis is part of an effort to create a multi-dimensional picture of Isfahan hot spring development and display its influence on the health and spa tourism sector. Thus the thesis demonstrated the challenges of hot spring development in Isfahan due to the various interests and contribution of different stakeholders.

## *Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research*

The limitations of this thesis mainly existed in the data collection procedure. While qualitative methods mostly examine socio-cultural processes in particular contexts in depth, the analysis of this material research was time-consuming and in certain cases, difficult to obtain. At times, the data collection process led to problematic behaviour associated with certain social or environmental conditions in the community, such as tantrums, which posed challenges to the research.

Additionally, in particular the qualitative interviews of this research were conducted with key actors who happily agreed to discuss their practices and attitudes. Consequently opinions of the key actors that did not want to share their opinion about the research topic could not be included in the study.

Finally, this research area was mainly limited by the analysis of three historical *hammams* in Isfahan city, and one hot spring nearby. Thus the results from the research might be extended to deal with the large number of *hammams* or hot spring resources in Isfahan or all over Iran. Hence recommendations for future research are detailed below:

1. Future research on a larger sample of *hammams* with or without historical values and their connection to the tourism industry.
2. Future research on health, wellness and spa tourism that increase ability to highlight the opportunity, resources and related heritage to health tourism sector in Iran.
3. Future research on key stakeholders, which outlines key issues and challenges for heritage supervision and management in this domain.
4. Future research on gender issues and its connection for using traditional and modern health places in contemporary Iran.

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## ***Appendices***



## *Appendix 1*

According to a recent booklet of the UDRC in 2014, this institution will include more community and social schemes into its strategies for future plans and programmes as the following issues:

### **1 - A new path to the regeneration of urban distressed areas**

The urban regeneration policy in this period moved from property-led regeneration towards more sensitive, small scale and local-based rehabilitation projects.

The development of public-private partnership has been among the new strategies employed by UDRC.

There is a growing interest in the decentralization of power from the central government to subordinate organizations, devolution of responsibilities to municipalities, and reducing the size of the public sector through privatization.

The role of the UDRC has shifted from being a direct provider to being a regulatory agency.

The new framework has prepared a context to include more community and social schemes into the strategies employed by the UDRC for future plans and programmes.

### **2 - The pivotal principles for regeneration and rehabilitation of urban distressed areas**

Giving priority to the regeneration of the urban distressed areas and planning for the distribution and settlement of the population.

Promoting public participation, particularly that of the residents and owners in distressed urban areas, and developing investments from the non-governmental sector through a programme of motivation, from design to implementation and utilization.



The central role of urban management in the implementation or regeneration projects and rectification and empowering of the existing mechanisms.

The realization of regeneration and renovation projects should not rely on the government's revenue and government aid should provide the necessary budget to develop the street network, infrastructure improvement and public services.

Execution of dispensation and playing the government's role in policy making, planning, leading, supervising, supporting and encouraging the regeneration and renovation by the non-governmental agencies.

### **3 - Enabling and Regularizing of Informal Settlements**

Rapid urbanization has brought irregular and spontaneous settlements in urban areas and prominently in the larger cities of Iran. It is currently estimated that about one eighth of the urban population (about seven and a half million people in Iran) live in informal settlements (UDRC, 2012). The important issue is unsustainable urban development described as the spatial reflection of poverty in informal settlement which could neither be left alone to resolve itself, nor could be addressed with piecemeal efforts. Furthermore, there is a concern that unmeasured intervention may encourage such tendencies and lead to remedial action rather than preventative (preventing the formation of sub-standard settlements) or guidance or control process. These settlements need to be up-graded urgently in a fundamentally different way reflecting national intentions with specific policies, particularly in view of the worrying evidence of their ever-increasing dimensions, making cities unsustainable. With the intention to develop a strategy at the macro level, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development and Ministry of Interior jointly proposed the adoption of a "National Task for Enabling and Regulating Informal Settlements" by the cabinet. The document was approved on the 8<sup>th</sup> January 2001 and establishes the main principles and strategies for a multi-sectoral intervention for up-grading the informal settlement in March 2001. It attempted to up-grade the informal settlements in order to promote social security and started to

work in the cities of Zahedan, Bandar Abbas and Kermanshah as the pioneers of an enabling approach in Iran.

## *Appendix 2*

The list of non-registered *hammams* in ICHHTO which exist in the Endowment Organization's list (Accessed October, 2014) have been shown as follows:

- Nou
- Namaki
- Mohammad Karim Beik
- Golnan
- Ali Akbar Nayeb
- Sheikh Ali Khan
- Sodan
- Nasr Abad
- Ali Akbar Najvan
- Dehchi
- Barzan
- Ostad Sharif Memar: Sharif
- Haji Mohammad Ebrahim Beikapour Bashi: Koche Sahra Lonban
- Banou Hajiye Khanum Nar Isfahani: Nasr Abad
- Dastgerd Khlar
- Khaghani
- Kafshiran
- Karam Ali
- Karladan
- Dastgerd Morcheha
- Ashenstan
- Seyd Hossein, Hassan Reza Kala Hosseini: Kohanestan
- Ghinan
- Pachenar

## Appendix 3

Ali Gholi Agha *hammam*: Number of visitors in 2010 and 2011

Autumn 2010:

Tourism Typology	The first month of Autumn	The second month of Autumn	The third month of Autumn
Iranian Visitors	2672	2151	1243
Foreigners Visitors	269	209	55
Free visitors and half price visitors (For schools and...)	551	1644	1243
Total	3492	4004	2541

Winter 2010- 2011: Not Available

Spring 2011:

	The first month of spring	The second month of spring	The third month of spring
Iranian Visitors	11374	2578	2101
Foreigners Visitors	60	371	125
Free visitors and half price visitors (For schools and...)	1888	4542	782
Total	13322	7491	3008

Summer 2011:

	The first month of summer	The second month of summer	The third month of summer
Iranian Visitors	2476	2184	4465
Foreigners Visitors	145	190	132
Free visitors and half price visitors (For schools and...)	418	296	274
Total	3039	2670	4871

Autumn 2011

	The first month of Autumn	The second month of Autumn	The third month of Autumn
Iranian Visitors	2440	1519	N/A
Foreigners Visitors	284	193	N/A
half price visitors (For schools and...)	85	1228	N/A
Special tour for children			
Free visitors	215	507	N/A
Total	3024	3447	

## *Appendix 4*

The main goals of performance in the Dardasht *hammam*:

- Distributing information among related organizations and asking them for effective co-operation in order to provide desirable cultural activities and events in Isfahan.
- Consistency in the implementation of cultural programmes.
- Adoption of programmes within a reasonable period of time.
- Expert investigation for reviewing the programmes periodically.
- Giving personal attention to a high standard of quality programmes (hardware and software elements).
- Avoiding parallel activities resulting from the work of the academic research team.
- Providing innovation activities and services in order to revive intangible cultural heritage issues.
- Analyzing three important elements for different performances; such as the quality of activities, audiences and the main objectives of the performance and attempt to reduce the weakness of executive team.
- Providing the context for design and performance of cultural heritage activities.
- Registering and transferring previous experiences.
- Commitment to the excellence management system in order to implement the survival of the project.
- Continuous training sessions for the executive team including the staff and project team.
- Audience analysis in order to ensure better activities and get involved by the audience co-operation.

(Dardasht Booklet page: 5)

## Public Performances (2013-2014)

Name of Event/Activity	Opening Time	Reason for Performance on a Specific Day	Time Duration	Number of Visitors on Inauguration Day/ Rest days	Event Objectives
Photo Exhibition: Sun Privacy	17/9/2013 (18:00)	Imam Reza Birthday: the eighth of the Twelve Imams	6 Days	180/420	Intangible Heritage (Customs and Traditions) /Visual Arts
Religious Chanting (Razavi)	17/9/2013 (18:00)	Imam Reza Birthday: the eighth of the Twelve Imams	180 Minute	180	Intangible Heritage (Religious Chanting Style)
Published Book :Isfahan, City Turquoise	Time duration: August/September 2013				Intangible Cultural Heritage
Production of 150 Graphics Pictures: Isfahan in Safavid Dynasty	Time Duration: Summer, Autumn and Winter 2013 27/10/2013 20/11/2013				Intangible Cultural Heritage, Customs and Rituals, Decorative arts
Islamic Civilization: Discussion Sessions	4/12/2013 18/12/2013 8/1/2014 22/1/2014 5/2/2014 2/6/2014	Islamic Discussion	120 Minute	15	Intangible heritage, Islamic Civilization: Ancient science
Handwriting Exhibition: Homework Mirror	28/10/2013 (18:00)	Eid al-Ghadeer: Shia Muslims Feasts	8 Days	200/500	Traditional Arts
Contemporary Handwriting: Discussion Session	28/10/2013	Eid al-Ghadeer: Shia Muslims Feasts	60 Minute	200	Intangible Heritage (Handwriting method Styles), Traditional Arts
Handwriting Exhibition: Love Game with Pen	19/1/2014 (18:00)	Prophet Muhammed's Birthday	8 Days	240/600	Traditional Art
Prophet Muhammed's Birthday Celebration	19/1/2014 (18:00)	Prophet Muhammed's Birthday	180 Minute	240	Intangible Heritage (Customs and Rituals)
The Seven Labors of Rostam Story;or Haft-Khan-e-Rostam: Discussion Session	14/2/2014 (10:00)	Sheikh Vali Alah Torabi	210 Minute	250	Intangible Heritage (Minstrelsy, Music & Shahnameh: long epic poem written by the Persian poet Ferdowsi)
Critical Review and Analysis the book Mythology in Iran	20/2/2014 (16:00)		180 Minute	120	Cultural an Art
Production of Hele Trailer: (Arabic and Syrian Music Mixture)	Winter 2013		Production Period: 3 Months		Cultural Heritage (Music, Poem), Architecture
Noruwz Tourism Festival: Traditional Hammam Activities	Noruwz Holiday March 2014	Noruwz Holiday: Persian New Days (National Holiday)	15 Days	2000	Cultural Heritage (Customs, Rituals and Art)
Metal Sculpture Exhibition	Noruwz Holiday March 2014	Noruwz Holiday: Persian New Days (National Holiday)	15 Days	2000	Visual Arts
Critical Discussion of	16/4/2014		180 Minute	8	Art Criticism

"Low Heights" Persian Movie	(16:00)					(Culture and Art)
World Standard for Art and Cultural Programs Event: PMBOK	11/3/2014 Till 9/4/2014	Noruwz Holiday: Persian New Days (National Holiday)	30 Days			Cultural and Scientific Organization
Performance/Display Traditional Customs and Rituals activities of cleaning washing styles <i>Hammam</i> from the past	24/4/2014 (10:00)	Week of Isfahan	90 Minute	100		Cultural Heritage: Music, Exhibit, Customs and Rituals
Introducing Book: Khosravaniha	25/4/2014		180 Minute	280		Cultural Heritage: Music, History and Culture
Critical Discussion and Analysis about Urban Art	30/4/2014		180 Minute	120		Culture, Art and Urban Planning
Philosophical Doctrine of Isfahan : Discussion Session	22/5/2014 (18:00)	Tribute of the most Prominent Iranian Shia Islamic philosopher,	180 Minute	60		Cultural Heritage (Philosophical Doctrine of Isfahan)
Sign and Semantics about Masnavi Book: An extensive poem written in Persian by Jalal al-Din Muhammad Balkhi, the celebrated Persian Sufi saint and poet.	29/5/2014		180 Minute	60		Cultural Heritage (Iranian Narratives : Masnavi Book)

(Dardasht Booklet Page: 6-45)

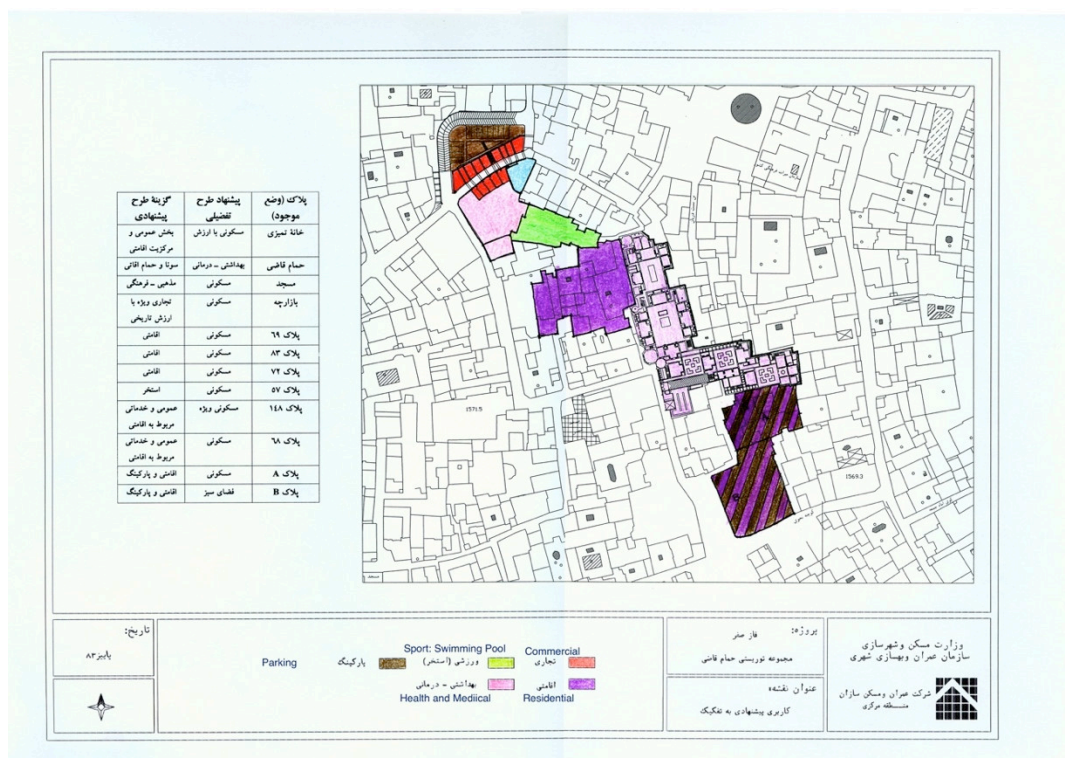
### Private Performances (2013-2014)

- Modern and New Methods of Management for Art Production
- Film Production based on Customs and Rituals in Isfahan with the Co-operation of Isfahan Broadcasting Centre
- Training sessions in Traditional and Folklore Music
- Tourism Tours: Cultural and Recreational Organization in the Isfahan Municipality
- Cultural and Art Experts Discussion
- Academic Field Trip: Students from the Art University of Isfahan
- A series of meetings for Reading of Books
- Academic Field Trip Observation Among the Visual Art Experts in Tehran and Discussion about Safavid Architecture and their Elements in Isfahan

- Photography of the Nojan Music Group in the *Hammam* about Different Parts of Isfahan City
- Discussion Sessions of Religious Chanting
- Academic Research Group about the Historical *Hammams* in Isfahan by the Research Institutes and Art Students
- Practical Research Courses about the Graphics and Visual Arts
- Mono-print Workshop Images and Prints
- Discussion Sessions of Poems and Music in Nowruz (Persian New Year Holiday)

(Dardasht Booklet page: 46)

## Appendix 5



Proposed functionality of buildings by number and name map: Produced by Renovation and Restoration Organization in the Municipality: September, 2004  
Source: Available in UDRC: [Accessed October 2014]

The buildings information and the proposed functionality in the Ghazi complex which was described by the Renovation and Restoration Organization in 2004 is translated as the following table:

The Name or Number of the Buildings	Recent Condition	Proposal Functionality for Future
Tamizi House	Valuable Historical House	Public Space, Accommodation Facilities
Ghazi Hammam	Health and Treatment activities/ Ruin	Sauna and Hammam for Local Community
Mosque	Religious Islamic activities, Residential	Cultural and Religious Activities
Bazalar	Residential	Commercial Center by Valuable Historical Elements
Number 69	Residential	Accommodation
Number 83	Residential	Accommodation
Number 72	Residential	Accommodation
Number 57	Residential	Accommodation
Number 148	Special Residential	Public services/ Accommodation
Number 68	Residential	Public services/ Accommodation
Number A	Residential	Accommodation/ Parking
Number B	Green Space, Park	Accommodation/ Parking

Source: Available In UDRC: Hard copy [Accessed October 2014]



The evidence documents shows UDRC under the control of the Ministry of Roads & Urban Development attempted to buy the Ghazi *hammam* directly from individual multi-owners on the 14<sup>th</sup> December 2009 and then accomplished it on the 12<sup>th</sup> May 2012. These three official agreements between UDRC and the individual owners and their offspring have been shown as the following:

شماره : ۸۸/۴۶۷  
تاریخ : ۸۸/۹/۲۴  
پوست :

دانشگاه تهران  
شرکت مادر تخصصی عمران و بهسازی شهری ایران  
(مختص مرکزی)  
فروشندهگان :

مبايعه نامه

ورثه مرحوم حسن فنائی: عبارتند از ۱-حسین فرازنده مهر به شماره شناسنامه ۴۳۷ صادره از اصفهان (۱۳/۰۹/۱۳۰۹۱) حبه ۲-عباس فنائی شماره شناسنامه ۱۷۶۲ صادره از اصفهان (۱۳/۰۹/۱۳۰۹۱) حبه ۳-مهدي فنائی شماره شناسنامه ۵۹۶۴۹ صادره از اصفهان (۱۳/۰۹/۱۳۰۹۱) حبه ۴-مسعود فنائی شماره شناسنامه ۹۷۸ صادره از اصفهان اصلالتاً نسبت به سهم خود (۱۳/۰۹/۱۳۰۹۱) حبه) و وکالتاً نسبت به سهم ابراهيم فنائی شماره شناسنامه ۵۱۳۱۸ (۱۳/۰۹/۱۳۰۹۱) حبه) بر اساس وکالت شماره ۲۰۴۰۶۴ مورخ ۸۵/۷/۲۰ دفتر حفاظت منافع ایران-واشنگتن مطابق انحصار وراثت شماره ۴۸۸ مورخ ۲۵۲۵/۹/۱۳ ورثه مرحوم صديقه فنائی: عبارتند از ۱-سيد محمد مسافر شماره شناسنامه ۱۰۰۲ صادره از اصفهان (۰۸/۷۲/۱۳۰۹) حبه ۲-حميد مسافر شماره شناسنامه ۲۹۱ صادره از اصفهان (۰۸/۷۲/۱۳۰۹) حبه ۳-سيد مهدي مسافر شماره شناسنامه ۱۰۵۳ صادره از اصفهان (۰۸/۷۲/۱۳۰۹) حبه ۴-علي مسافر شناسنامه شماره ۶۰۵۵۵ صادره از اصفهان (۰۸/۷۲/۱۳۰۹) حبه ۵-سيد احمد مسافر شماره شناسنامه ۸۱۱ صادره از اصفهان (۰۸/۷۲/۱۳۰۹) حبه ۶-مهری مسافر شماره شناسنامه ۳۸۵۷۲ صادره از اصفهان (۰۸/۷۲/۱۳۰۹) حبه ۷-فروغ السادات مسافر شماره شناسنامه ۵۸۵۰۱ صادره از اصفهان (۰۸/۷۲/۱۳۰۹) حبه ۸-بتول مسافر شماره شناسنامه ۴۰۸ صادره از اصفهان (۰۸/۷۲/۱۳۰۹) حبه ۹-محبوبه مسافر شماره شناسنامه ۹۳۷۵۸ صادره از اصفهان (۰۸/۷۲/۱۳۰۹) حبه ۱۰-مريم السادات مسافريه شماره شناسنامه ۳۴۶۳ صادره از اصفهان (۰۸/۷۲/۱۳۰۹) حبه) براساس انحصار وراثت مورخ ۸۳/۱/۲۴ شعبه ۵ دادگاه عمومی اصفهان

خریدار:

شرکت مادر تخصصی عمران و بهسازی شهری ایران در منطقه مرکزی با نمایندگی آقایان مهندسین محمود محمودزاده و غلامرضا عمرانی - براساس برنامه اجرایی سالیانه شرکت مادر تخصصی عمران و بهسازی شهری ایران کد پرونده (۸۷۱۶۰۱۰۸۸) تامین دسترسها و اصلاح معابر در بافت فرسوده) به نشانی: اصفهان-خیابان ابن سینا - کوچه میرعلاءالدین - کوچه مسجد شمس - پلاک ۳۰

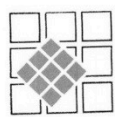
مورد معامله:

عبارتست از شش دانگ پلاکهای ثبتی شماره ۴۱۲۱ و ۴۱۱۸ بخش ۳ ثبت اصفهان به مساحت حدود ۵۷۹ مترمربع و ۳ دانگ مشاع از ۶ دانگ زمین فاضلاب حمام که جداگانه و به موجب یک سند عادی به خریدار واگذار می گردد بدون هیچ گونه متعلقات و منصوبات که فروشندهگان هیچگونه تعهدی جهت نقل و انتقال رسمی فاضلاب نداشته و چنانچه بعد از وقوع ثبت معامله و حتی در آینده هر شخصی نسبت به ۳ دانگ مشاع از زمین فاضلاب هرگونه ادعایی نمود به عهده فروشندهگان است. واقع در خیابان ابن سینا کوچه میرعلاءالدین معروف

اسفهان، میدان قدس، انجمن علامه مجلسی، کوچه شیرازی، پلاک ۱۰۸، تلفن: ۰۳۱۱-۴۴۸۴۴۸۰-۲  
Website : www.maskansazancz.ir  
۸۷۴۴۱-۹۷۴۴۱

Agreement between UTRC and Offspring of Mr Hassan Fanaei (14.12.2009)

شماره: ۸۸/۴۹۸  
تاریخ: ۸۸/۹/۲۳  
پست:



وزارت مسکن و شهرسازی  
شرکت تخصصی عمران و بهسازی شهری ایران  
(استان اصفهان)  
**فروشنده:**

**مبیاعه نامه**

**(۱) فروشنده:**

خانم پروانه طفرادهقانی دارای شماره شناسنامه ۱۰۵۹۵ فرزند حسین متولد ۱۳۴۷ به شماره ملی ۶-۰۵۸۹۷-۱۷۵ به وکالت از طرف خانم سکینه ابراهیمی بر اساس وکالتنامه شماره ۹۱۸ مورخ ۸۸/۵/۳ دفترخانه اسناد رسمی شماره ۱۶۱ اهواز به آدرس مقیم اهواز انتهای خیابان امام نیش کوی فاطمیه ده متری بن بست شهید یغمائی پلاک ۳۳

**(۲) خریدار:**

شرکت صادر تخصصی عمران و بهسازی شهری ایران در استان اصفهان بسا نمایندگی آقایان محمود محمود زاده و غلامرضا عمرانی براساس برنامه اجرایی سالیانه شرکت مادر تخصصی عمران و بهسازی شهری ایران کد پروژه ۸۸۱۶۰۱۴۸ بازگشایی معابر

به نشانی: اصفهان - خیابان ابن سینا - کوچه میر علاءالدین - کوچه مسجد شمس - پلاک ۳۰

**(۳) مورد معامله:**

عبارتست از ۶ دانگ یک قطعه زمین پلاک ثبتی ۴۱۲۲ باقیمانده بخش ۳ ثبت اصفهان واقع در خیابان ابن سینا کوی حمام قاضی به مساحت حدود ۱۹۰/۲۸ مترمربع شامل کلیه حقوق متصوره که جزء لاینفک میب بوده و براساس مندرجات سند مالکیت که به رویت خریدار رسیده است و تماماً از کم و کیف آن آگاه است.

**(۴) مبلغ مورد معامله و ترتیب پرداخت آن:**

بهای مورد معامله به استناد توافق بعمل آمده و نظریه کارشناسی رسمی دادگستری به شماره مورخ به صورت یکجا و کلیدی به مبلغ ۸۰۸,۶۹۰,۰۰۰ ریال (معادل ۸۰۸,۶۹۰,۰۰۰ تومان) بابت بهاء عرصه و نیز کلیه مبلغ حقوق مفروضه پلاک فوق همزمان با نقل و انتقال در دفترخانه و تحویل پلاک به خریدار در وجه فروشنده پرداخت خواهد شد.


**(۵) حضور در دفترخانه اسناد رسمی:**

خریدار تعهد می نماید تا پایان وقت اداری مورخ ۸۸/۹/۳۰ با همراه داشتن کلیه اسناد و مدارک مورد نیاز در دفترخانه اسناد رسمی شماره ۸۶ حاضر و نسبت به انجام تشریفات نقل و انتقال اقدام نماید.

تبصره: چنانچه فروشنده در موعد مذکور در دفترخانه مورد نظر حاضر نشود، یا در صورت عدم تحویل ملک در تاریخ مذکور از طرف فروشنده می بایستی به ازای هر روز تاخیر معادل مبلغ ۱,۰۰۰,۰۰۰ ریال به خریدار پرداخت نماید و از عهده خسارت به وجود آمده برآیند ضمن اینکه پرداخت جریمه مزبور مانع از انجام اقدامات قانونی و قضائی الزام طرف به تنظیم سند رسمی و نیز الزام فروشنده به تحویل ملک نخواهد بود.

**(۶) شرایط و تعهدات:**

الف) کلیه مالیاتهای نقل و انتقال و عوارض شهرداری به عهده فروشنده و هزینه محضر اعم از حق الثبت و حق التحریر و بهای اوراق بالمناصفه به عهده طرفین است.

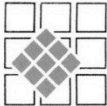


پاروانه توجره دهقانی

Website: www.maskansazancz.ir

Agreement between UTRC and Mrs Parvaneh Toghra Dehghani procurator of Mrs Sakineh Ebrahimi (14.12.2009)

شماره : ۹۱۴۷  
تاریخ : ۹۱/۲/۲۳  
پست :



وزارت‌کن و شهرسازی  
شرکت تخصصی عمران و بهسازی شهری ایران  
(مقتضی مرکزی)

به نام خدا  
« قرارداد خرید املاک / اراضی »

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**ماده ۱ - طرفین قرارداد**  
**الف) فروشنده:**  
خانم عفت رستم شیرازی فرزند اسمعیل به شماره شناسنامه ۷۳۴ حوزه دو اصفهان به نشانی : اصفهان-خیابان دروازه شیراز کوچه حکیم نظامی پلاک ۵۷۶ به شماره همراه ۰۹۱۳۳۱۷۶۱۵۳

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**ب) خریدار:**  
شرکت مادر تخصصی عمران و بهسازی شهری ایران در استان اصفهان با نمایندگی آقایان مهندسین محمود محمودزاده و غلامرضا عمرانی بر اساس برنامه اجرایی سالیانه شرکت مادر تخصصی عمران و بهسازی شهری ایران کد پروژه ..... به نشانی : اصفهان - خیابان ابن سینا - کوچه میرعلاءالدین - کوچه مسجد شمس - پلاک ۳۰

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**ماده ۲ - موضوع قرارداد**  
موضوع قرارداد عبارتست از شش دانگ یک ملک، موضوع پلاک ثبتی شماره ... فرعی از ۴۱۷۲ اصلی واقع در بخش ۳ ثبت شهرستان اصفهان دارای سند مالکیت به شماره سریال ۲/۴۹۹۵۸۸ صفحه ۶۴ دفتر ششم به انضمام ..... به مساحت حدود ۷۶ مترمربع شامل کلیه انشعابات اعم از آب / برق / گاز / تلفن و کلیه مفروضات و متفرعات و متعلقات به انضمام ..... به نشانی : اصفهان - خیابان ابن سینا - کوچه میرعلاءالدین نبش کوچه مسجد شمس - جنب حمام قاضی .

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**ماده ۳ - مبلغ قرارداد و نحوه پرداخت**  
مجموع مبلغ خرید موضوع قرارداد مطابق نظریه کارشناس / هیئت کارشناسی به شماره ۹۱/۲۹۰۵/۵ مورخ ۹۱/۲/۲۵ کلیدی برابر ۷۰,۰۰۰,۰۰۰ ریال معادل ۷۰,۰۰۰,۰۰۰ تومان می باشد که به شرح زیر توسط خریدار به فروشنده پرداخت می گردد:

- ۱- مبلغ ۱۰۵,۰۰۰,۰۰۰ ریال معادل ۱۵ درصد از کل مبلغ قرارداد همزمان با انعقاد و مبادله قرارداد حاضر.
- ۲- باقیمانده مبلغ به میزان ۵۹۵,۰۰۰,۰۰۰ ریال معادل ۸۵ درصد از کل مبلغ قرارداد همزمان با تنظیم سند رسمی انتقال موضوع قرارداد در دفترخانه اسناد رسمی به نام خریدار و پس از تخلیه و تحویل کامل موضوع قرارداد.

تلفن : ۰۲۱-۴۴۸۴۴۸۰۰-۲

Website : [www.maskansazancz.ir](http://www.maskansazancz.ir)

اصفهان، میدان قدس، خیابان علامه مجلسی، کوچه شیرفانلی، پلاک ۱۰۷

کد پستی : ۸۱۴۸۸-۹۷۴۴۱

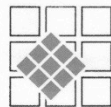
Agreement between UTRC and Mrs Efat Rostam Shirazi (12.5.2012)

The Official Agreement between UDRC and individual owner and their offspring in 2011  
Available In UDRC [Accessed October 2014]

## Appendix 6

### The official agreement between ICHHTO and UDRC in 2011

شماره :  
تاریخ :  
پیوست :

  
 وزارت مسکن و شهرسازی  
 شرکت تخصصی عمران و بهسازی شهری ایران

**توافق نامه همکاری و مشارکت**

روز شنبه مورخ ۹۰/.../... جلسه ای در محل شرکت عمران و مسکن سازان استان اصفهان، با حضور آقای مهندس حیدر پور ریاست محترم سازمان میراث فرهنگی، صنایع دستی و گردشگری استان اصفهان و آقای مهندس عمرانی نماینده محترم مدیر عامل شرکت مادر تخصصی عمران و بهسازی شهری ایران در استان اصفهان تشکیل و تصمیماتی در راستای همکاری و تعامل بین سازمان میراث فرهنگی و شرکت مادر تخصصی عمران و بهسازی شهری ایران به نمایندگی شرکت عمران و مسکن سازان استان اصفهان در جهت مرمت حمام قاضی به شماره ثبت ۲۰۰۱۲ مورخ ۸۶/۸/۲۲ آثار تاریخی، که در مالکیت شرکت مادر تخصصی عمران و بهسازی شهری ایران می باشد، اتخاذ گردید.

۱- مقرر گردید: طرح مرمت پلاک های فوق الذکر، توسط شرکت مادر تخصصی عمران و بهسازی شهری ایران تهیه گردد.

۲- مقرر گردید: جهت اجرایی طرح مرمت تهیه شده توسط شرکت عمران و بهسازی شهری ایران، نسبت به تأمین نیروی انسانی متخصص و تهیه وسایل و تجهیزات مورد نیاز اقدام نماید.

۳- مقرر گردید: سازمان میراث فرهنگی و گردشگری استان در خصوص تأمین مصالح مورد نیاز جهت انجام مرمت پروژه فوق اشاره اقدام نماید.

اسفندیار حیدر پور؛ ریاست سازمان میراث فرهنگی، صنایع دستی و گردشگری استان اصفهان

غلامرضا عمرانی؛ نماینده مدیر عامل شرکت مادر تخصصی عمران و بهسازی شهری ایران در استان اصفهان و مدیر عامل شرکت عمران و مسکن سازان استان اصفهان

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